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ABSTRACT

Of the 27 million poor people in the United States in 1970, 10 million lived in the 11 Southern states. This was 38% of the nation's poverty population, making the South's poverty rate twice that of the remaining 39 states. This study, essentially a statistical analysis of regional poverty data derived from the 1970 Census, identifies the South's poor in detail in order to provide a statistical base for remedial action. Data were obtained on residence and poverty, the working poor, the South's elderly poor, family income and the poverty line, and poor Southern families with children. Findings included: while in "absolute numbers" more white males headed poor families than any other race/sex grouping, the incidence of poverty was highest among black female-headed families; the difference in poverty incidence between the South and the non-South was greatest for black males; the South's rural areas had the highest poverty rate; of Southern employed family heads, 54% of black females, 26% of black males, 18% of white females, and 6% of white males did not earn enough to keep out of poverty; almost half of Southern farm laborers and about one-quarter of Southern farm owners were in poverty; poverty incidence among male headed-families with children was nearly twice as high in rural areas as in urban areas; 9% of the white elderly and 23% of the black elderly in the South were poor and did not receive Social Security benefits. Appended is brief data on the Spanish American poor population in Florida and Texas. (NQ)

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A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF POVERTY IN THE SOUTH

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

In a time of economic recession and inflation the persistence of poverty in the South takes on special significance. Inflation in the South, for instance, has grown at a higher rate than in the nation as a whole. Moreover, the method of computing those in poverty fails to take into account an extremely important factor. Items in family budgets which had the most rapid price increase—food, housing, transportation—constitute a far greater share of poor people's expenditures than of those in middle income groups. Poverty levels established in 1964-65 are updated each year to reflect changes in the cost of living by the increase in the *total* consumer price index. But beginning in 1972, accelerating in 1973 and 1974 the price increase in the items for which the poor spend their money has been greater than in the total index. What this means is that since 1972 the number of actual poor has been understated and that as inflation continues, especially in food prices, the number will continue to be understated.

This study, essentially a statistical analysis of regional poverty data derived from the 1970 Census, illustrates that well before the present crisis in the nation's economy the South had a larger proportional share of the nation's poor than the remaining 39 states. It is also clear that a significantly large number of Southerners, not classified as poor, were living on incomes that put them perilously close to poverty levels.

The census of 1970, we would point out, represented the first time that the Census Bureau had collected poverty data on the scale reported here. Our purpose in presenting an examination of the regional data is to identify the South's poor in detail in order to provide a statistical base for remedial action. Several major findings, with broad policy implications, emerge from our analysis.

- Poverty among Southern blacks, as has historically been the case, remains more intense than among whites, although in absolute numbers more whites are poor than blacks.
- Poverty rates in rural areas, not unexpectedly, were uniformly higher than in urban areas.
- The percentage of poor families headed by females was far greater than those headed by males. Black female headed families are particularly vulnerable. As a result, the South's poverty bears heavily on the children of the region, since most female-headed families—of both races—contain children.
- Work is no guarantee against poverty. The majority of Southern poor, in fact, do work, but do not earn enough to raise their families' income above poverty levels.
- The industrial structure of the South in 1970 was more heavily concentrated in low wage industries than was true in the rest of the nation.
- Only a very small percentage of Southern families received public assistance in 1970. All states defined need at levels lower than the federally established poverty line. In most Southern states maximum payments were far below even the states' own established need levels. The result of such policies was inevitable: public assistance helped only a small fraction of the poor to move out of poverty.
- Although overall the rate of participation in Social Security by the South's elderly was only slightly below that of the elderly in the rest of the nation, participation among elderly blacks was far below national averages. This was so because elderly blacks during their work years were heavily concentrated in domestic work and farm labor, jobs that only during the past two decades have come under the Social Security Act.

• Southerners have received less formal education than the nation's population as a whole. Among the poor the percentage with a high school education is still alarmingly low.

Detailed policy recommendations to reach the causes of regional poverty are beyond the scope of the present study, but the need for certain broad measures is clear.

Public education in the South should provide for equitable financing of schools in order to bring a higher quality of education to children in poverty areas.

There must be adequate funds for manpower programs that will enhance individual earning opportunities, improve productivity and contribute to economic development. Such programs should not only meet labor market demands, but provide special assistance to persons living in rural areas and in urban ghettos, to women, to youth, to minorities who have for so long borne the penalties of employment discrimination These programs should be linked with governmental economic development policies that will influence the location of jobs in poverty-heavy areas.

Social welfare programs should be focused toward bringing both the working poor and those not in the labor force to at least a minimum needs level, preferably to be determined by the federal government, on a uniform basis rather than by states. Existing programs should be strengthened, outreach efforts undertaken to enroll those eligible. For, almost by definition, the poor among us are those who benefit inadequately and inequitably from the normal workings of the economic and social order.

There remains the danger, however, in a period of national economic crisis that the problems of those at the very bottom of the economic ladder will be exacerbated. Programs designed to aid the poor have never been popular among the affluent, and today there are voices in the land calling for drastic cutbacks in social welfare programs as a panacea for halting inflation. We do not pretend to have the solution to the nation's current economic perplexities. But we do not believe that in a compassionate nation, at a time when more people—not fewer—will likely need the services of such programs that acceptable answers are to be found in penalizing those most victimized by, and least responsible for, the hard times that now beset us all.

Nor, finally, will the best interests of society be served by penalties that prevent those same people from finding a productive role. Back of each statistic in our report are flesh and blood people, adults who have never known any existence other than that of harsh, and shattering poverty, children whose childhoods are being needlessly blighted and whose potential for growth into useful citizens is being jeopardized, the elderly who are victims of their own failing strength and of society's indifference. Seen in such a light the statistics here take on a new and terrifying reality.

We present our data, then, with the hope that policymakers at every level of government and in the private sector will use it as the basis for formulation of policies and programs that both respond to basic human needs and open up opportunities for a full share in a productive society.

George Esser
Executive Director

Harry Bowie
Associate Director

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* **Black Population as Percent of Total Population** **Back Cover**

* removed; oversized and would not color-code reproduce.

DATA SOURCES

The majority of data used in this report was derived from the 1970 Census of Population—either from the printed reports or computer summary tapes. The printed reports primarily used were:

U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, *General Social and Economic Characteristics,* PC(1)-C Series and *Detailed Characteristics,* PC (1)-D Series.

These will be referred to in the table sources as *General Social and Economic Characteristics* and *Detailed Characteristics* with further reference to the U. S. Summary and/or state volumes and to the Census tables from which these tables were computed.

The computer summary tapes used were the Fourth Count Summary Tapes which contain state summaries for data about the characteristics of the poor population among other subjects. In the table sources these tapes will be referred to as 4th Count Tapes. For a detailed description of the content and technical nature of the tapes see:

U. S. Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census Users' Guide,* 1970, Part II.

All other sources, including the 1970 Census, are fully noted in the table sources.

Data in the text with source references such as Table 1, Table 5, etc. refer to full tables which follow each chapter.

Research assistance and statistical computations were performed by Robert Nader, Elaine Gilliard, and Janet Warner.

Maps by Marge Manderson.

CHAPTER I RESIDENCE AND POVERTY

SUMMARY

1. *With only 25 percent of the nation's total population, the South contained 38 percent of the nation's poverty population.*
2. *The South's poverty rate was twice that of the remaining 39 states.*
3. *While in* absolute numbers *more poor families were headed by white males than any other race/sex grouping, the incidence of poverty was highest among black female-headed families. Two out of three such families in the South were poor, while one out of ten white male-headed families were poor.*
4. *The difference in poverty incidence between the South and the non-South was greatest for black males—nearly three times as severe in the South. Female-headed families showed little regional variation.*
5. *A larger percentage of the Southern poor (85 percent) were members of families than was true outside the South (74 percent) and a larger proportion of these Southern poor families were headed by males than in the non-South.*
6. *By residence type the highest poverty rate in the South was in rural areas—nearly one quarter of all families. But over half of black families in rural Southern areas were poor compared to 17 percent for rural Southern white families.*
7. *Poverty rates in Southern counties ranged from lows of four percent in two suburban Virginia counties to a high of 58 percent in Jefferson County, Mississippi.*
8. *Black families in Southern urban fringe areas were the least poor of all black residential groupings, but their poverty rate was higher than that of rural white families, the poorest white residential group. Black poverty incidence was three to four times that of whites in the same residential places.*
9. *The poverty incidence between urban and rural female-headed families was relatively slight compared to a nearly two-fold difference for male-headed families.*
10. *Poor families headed by females were more concentrated in urban areas than those headed by males, at least two-thirds compared to less than half of male heads.*
11. *The variation in poverty among Southern states ranged from a high in Mississippi of 30 percent to a low in Florida and Virginia of 12 to 13 percent. Black rates ranged from 2.5 to 4.3 times white rates in the Southern states.*

In 1970 there were 27 million poor people[1] in the United States and ten million of them lived in the eleven states of the South.[2] Thus, while the South contained 25 percent of the nation's population, it contained 38 percent of its poor (Table 1). Such a disproportion resulted in a Southern poverty rate[3] of 21 percent compared to a national rate of 14 percent.

The intensity of the South's poverty is more apparent still when its 21 percent rate is compared to the eleven percent rate of the remaining 39 states. In brief, the South's poverty rate was double that of the non-South's.

Poverty Rates, the Non-South and the South, 1970*

	Non-South	South	So./Non.S.**
All persons	11	21	1.9
Children	12	24	2.1
Unrelated individuals			
18-64 years	28	36	1.3
65 years or over	48	62	1.3
Families	9	17	1.9
Head 18-64 years	8	15	1.9
Head 65 yrs. or over	15	30	2.0
White head	8	12	1.5
Black head	21	41	2.0
Male head	6	13	2.2
Female head	29	43	1.5

*The Census data was collected in April, 1970. The determination of poverty was on the basis of the 1969 income. This is the case for the other tables in this report.
**Ratio of the Southern poverty rate to the non-Southern rate.
Source: Computed from Tables 1 and 2.

[1] The poverty population are those whose income in 1969 fell below poverty levels (See Appendix P). The basis of the definition is the Department of Agriculture's economy food plan which is designed for *"emergency or temporary use when funds are low."* This diet is not meant for sustained and permanent use. In addition the diet is deficient in several nutrients (See *Hunger U.S.A. Revisited, A Report by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States;* the Southern Regional Council, and the National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition). This inadequate diet is priced and that amount is multiplied by three to derive a monetary value which is the poverty level. Various levels, depending on size of family and so on, are priced to derive the various poverty levels. Families who live on farms are assumed to raise part of their food, therefore their poverty levels are figured at 85 percent of the nonfarm level. This is in spite of the fact that the farm family may not be raising food. An alternative method of setting living standards is described in Chapter 5. This method, that of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, defines a minimum level according to a mix of goods and services and not just a food plan.

[2] Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

[3] The terms *poverty incidence* and *poverty rate* are used interchangeably and refer to the percent of a group who are poor, whose income falls below the poverty level appropriate to their characteristics. Throughout the report the distinction between "rate" and "absolute numbers" should be remembered.

Moreover, as the figures below illustrate, poverty rates for various population groups in the region also were approximately twice that of those outside the region.

Those persons not attached to families (unrelated individuals) were the group least affected by a regional differential.[4] Families headed by whites and families headed by females show less regional differential in poverty rates than the average, but families headed by blacks and families headed by males[5] show more.

When race and sex of the family head are considered together the greatest Southern differential in poverty rates is shown for black male-headed families—nearly three times that of the non-Southern rate.

Poverty Rates by Race and Sex of Family Head, the Non-South and the South, 1970

Family head	Non-South	South	So./Non-S.*
White male	6	10	1.7
White female	25	30	1.2
Black male	12	33	2.8
Black female	46	64	1.4

*Ratio of the South poverty rate to the non-South rate.
Source: Non-South, computed from Table 2; South, Table 3.

The poverty rate for Southern black male-headed families contrasted to their counterparts outside the South is higher than would be expected from a regional difference alone. The relative poverty of black male-headed families in the South is also shown by their place in the ranking of poverty rates. In the South they are slightly more subject to poverty than white female-headed families, but in the non-South were half as subject to poverty as white female-headed families.

The regional variations in poverty rates should not detract from the facts of the rates within the South. The incidence of poverty among white male-headed families was one in ten; among white female and black male-headed families, about one in three; but for black female-headed families, *two out of three*.

The poverty rate for black female-headed families showed less regional difference than male-headed families' rates. Their rate is, however, the most severe within the region—twice as high as those for white female and black male-headed families and over six times that of white male-headed families. The rates for white female-headed families showed the least regional differential, but within the South were still three times as high as white male-headed families.

The higher poverty rates for blacks and for women, at the very least, indicate a need for more anti-discrimination activities in the South—increased enforcement of current statutes, passage of anti-discrimination legislation in jurisdictions where none exist, more diligently implemented affirmative action plans for public and private employers.

Composition of the Poor Population in the South and the Non-South

The poor population in the nation was in large part comprised of the very young and the old. In absolute numbers poor family heads were most often white and/or male. This was true for the South and for the rest of the nation. However, the profile of the poor in the South was not the same as in the rest of the nation. Relatively more of the Southern poor were family members compared to the non-South. Among the poor of the South were proportionally more children and non-elderly adults.

Composition of the Poor Population, the Non-South and the South, 1970

	Non-South	South
In families	74%	85%
Children	36	41
18-64 years	29	35
65 yrs. or over	8	9
Not in families	26	15
18-64 years	14	7
65 years or over	13	8
	100%	100%
Total, in millions	16.9	10.3

Source: Computed from Table 1.

In view of the hard pressed circumstances of poor families, that 85 percent of the Southern poor remain within families is remarkable. There are advantageous aspects to this: income maximizing may be easier for groups than for individuals, public aid can be more efficient when it is combined with other income sources within the family, and the need for separate institutions for the poor (such as homes for the aged) may be smaller than if more poor were not in families.

Although proportionally fewer whites were heads of poor families in the South than in the non-South, they were still a majority of poor family heads. Of poor Southern families 1.3 million were white and 0.9 million, black and 39,000 other races.[6] Male-headed families were more prevalent among the South's poor

[1] Among the Southern poor were 762,000 unrelated individuals under 65 years, including over a half million whites. The group is diverse including some of the young whose status will certainly change as they mature, those who have taken vows of poverty (the religious), the migrant workers who have little chance of escaping poverty, and others. The poverty incidence for the whites was 36 percent and the blacks, 52 percent. Although their poverty is severe they comprise a small proportion of the South's total poor persons, 7 percent, thus will not be analyzed further in this report. Table 11 shows the number or poor and poverty rate by race for these non-elderly unrelated individuals in the eleven Southern states.

[5] Husband-wife families are classified by the Census as male-headed regardless of other factors, hence the vast majority of male-headed families are husband-wife families. In female-headed families there are no husbands present.

[6] Because of the relatively small numbers of Indians in the Census South (42,000 families) it is more difficult to make extensive regional generalizations about their poverty status. Over one-fourth of all Indian families within the United States reside in the Census South. Their poverty incidence is similar to that for Indians in the total U.S. But the rate for both is extremely high, reflecting the grave economic difficulties faced by Indians. Of Indian families in the Census South, 32 percent were poor; in urban areas, 21 percent; and in rural areas, about 40 percent. Spanish-Americans are discussed in Appendix A; the vast majority are included in the Tables with whites since that is their racial classification. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Populaton; 1970, *American Indians*. PC(2)-1F.

families than the non-South's. Considering race and sex of the family head together, there were two major differences between the South and non-South. In the South a greater proportion, by far, of poor families were headed by black males (24 percent) than in the non-South (7 percent). A smaller proportion of Southern poor families were headed by white females than in the non-South (13 percent compared to 24 percent).

Race and Sex of Poor Family Heads, the Non-South and the South, 1970

Family head	Non-South	South
White male	56%	46%
White female	24	13
Total white	80	59
Black male	7	24
Black female	11	16
Total black	18	41
Other races	2	*
	100%	100%
Total, in millions	3.3	2.1

*less than 0.5 percent.
Source: Computed from Table 2.

Families headed by white males make up the largest portion of poor family heads in the South, though relatively much less than in the total Southern population (46 percent compared to 76 percent[7]). However, this is not to down-play the fact that blacks make up a much greater share of the Southern poor than non-Southern. No family type is spared the impact of poverty.

Locational Aspects of Poverty in the South

Like the regional variation in the national poverty profile, within the South the incidence of poverty varies by residence and the distribution of the poor population is different from that of the total population.

The map on the inside of the front cover shows the variation among Southern counties in the percent of the population that was poor in 1970. The range is from a low of 4 percent in Henrico County, Virginia (Richmond suburbs) and Fairfax County, Virginia (Washington suburb) to a high of 58 percent for Jefferson County, Mississippi (100 percent rural). Within the South definite sub-regions with high incidence of poverty exist —most of the state of Mississippi; the coastal plains of the Carolinas and Georgia; the mountain counties of North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee; south Texas; substantial sections of Arkansas and Louisiana adjacent to the Mississippi river, but not confined to those locations; southern Alabama; and north Florida. In each of the eleven states a geographical concentration of counties with high poverty rates is apparent. These regions only to a limited degree can be characterized as rural areas.

Using counties as the units for the map tends to place more importance on area (land) than on population. The rates for many counties are high but many of these counties have few people. The central city counties, on the other hand, have lower rates of poverty than rural counties, by and large, but they have much more population. These counties containing the largest cities are mostly shaded yellow, but if the data were disaggregated for neighborhoods, sections of the cities where the poor were concentrated would fall into the heavier poverty ranges and would consequently be darker than yellow.

The map in the centerfold shows for Southern counties the proportion of the population that was rural. There is less of a pattern on the rural map than on the poverty map. The highest poverty incidence counties (reds) include counties from each of the various rural percent ranges. The explanation for this dissimilarity is found in the data on poverty rates by residence.

By residence the highest poverty rate in the South was in rural areas—nearly one-quarter of all families. The lowest rate was in the urban fringe—8 percent. The rate for the central cities was less than the regional rate and that for smaller towns about the same as the regional average.

The one-quarter poverty rate for all families living in rural areas is much lower than the extremely high poverty rates for individual counties—especially the darkest red—shown on the map. However, when the poverty incidence is examined according to both the residence and race of families, the maps are more understandable.

Poverty Rates For Families by Race and Residence in the South, 1970

	Total	White	Black
Urbanized areas*			
Central cities	15%	9%	32%
Urban fringe	8	6	29
Other urban			
10,000-49,999	16	11	41
2,500-9,999	18	13	45
Rural	23	17	52

*See Appendix B for definition.
Source: Tables 4 and 5.

These data reveal that *over half of black families in rural areas were poor*. This percentage is in line with the extremely high poverty rates on the poverty map. In these areas there is also a high proportion of black residents. The map on the inside of the back cover shows for Southern counties the percent of the population that was black. There is a fairly high degree of correspondence between the black population map and the poverty map in the areas of darkest hues (reds and blues). There are several notable exceptions on the poverty map that are not heavily black—southern Texas (high percentages of Spanish-Americans) and

[7]Table 2.

the Appalachian counties (areas of poor whites).

Other comparisons between white and black families for other residence places show that black rates are three to four times higher than white rates in the same place. The least poor black residential group, the urban fringe, has a higher poverty rate than the most poor white residential group, rural. Blacks in every residential place have rates so much higher than whites that location alone is not a sufficient discriminator in describing poverty.

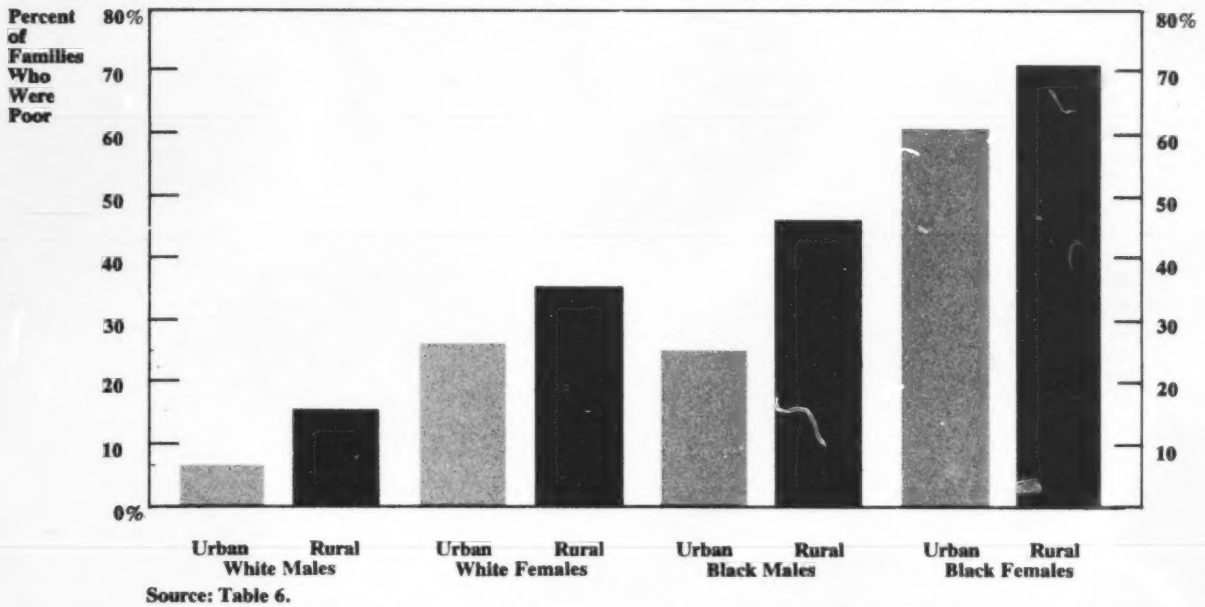
Residence of All Families and Poor Families by Race in the South, 1970

	All	Poor	Poor White	Poor Black
Urban	65%	52%	48%	57%
Urbanized areas	45	32	29	36
Other urban	20	20	19	21
Rural	36	48	52	43
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Tables 7 and 8.

CHART 1

POVERTY INCIDENCE IN THE SOUTH FOR FAMILIES BY RACE, SEX, AND RESIDENCE OF FAMILY HEAD, 1970



Source: Table 6.

It was mentioned earlier that there was a smaller regional differential in poverty rates for female-headed families than male. Within the South this was also the case for urban-rural poverty rate differentials. The poverty rates for rural families headed by males were about twice those of urban areas. But for families headed by females the differential was less.

Poverty Rates by Race and Sex and Residence in the South, 1970

Family head	Urban	Rural	Rural/Urban
White male	7	16	2.3
White female	27	36	1.3
Black male	25	47	1.9
Black female	61	71	1.2

Source: Table 6.

Though rural poverty *rates* are higher than urban ones for all groups, the urban poor, nevertheless, make up the greatest number of poor. Of all Southern families in 1970 more lived in urbanized areas compared to smaller urban places or rural areas. However, a greater percentage of the poor lived in rural areas than the total population, about the same percentage in smaller urban places, and relatively fewer, in urbanized areas.

However, the residence pattern of the poor was not the same for whites and blacks. Poor black families were somewhat less likely than poor white families to be rural residents.

Poor families headed by females were more concentrated in urban areas than families headed by poor males. At least two-thirds of female-headed poor families lived in urban places compared to less than half of similar families headed by males.

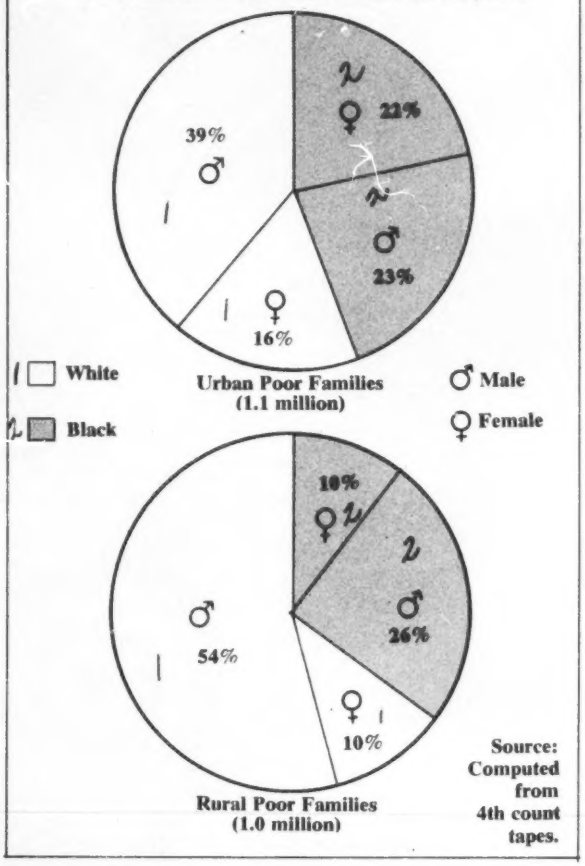
Residence of Poor Families by Race and Sex in the South, 1970

Family head	Urban	Rural
White male	44%	56%
White female	64	36
Black male	48	52
Black female	70	30

Source: Table 9.

Over half of both white male and black male-headed poor families were rural residents. Seven out of ten poor families headed by black females and two out of three headed by white females were urban residents. Hence nearly opposite residence patterns exist for poor males and for poor females.

CHART 2
POOR FAMILIES IN THE SOUTH:
URBAN AND RURAL RESIDENCE
BY RACE AND SEX OF FAMILY HEAD, 1970



Some Variations in Poverty Across the Southern States

In the preceding discussion and in the remainder of this report the emphasis is on poverty in the eleven Southern states considered together. The same data for each of the individual states is available in the tables which follow each section. By and large the observations about the region are applicable to the states, but readers are encouraged to use the tables to verify this for the states in which they have an interest. Some important differences between the states will be touched upon briefly here.

The variation in poverty between the states is considerable. The poverty incidence for families varied from a high in Mississippi of three out of every ten to a low in Florida and Virginia of 12-13 percent (Table 10). The numbers of poor, depending on the size of the total population, were as high as over two million in Texas and over one million in Florida, in spite of relatively low poverty incidences.

The states vary considerably according to the population's urban and rural residence. Although a greater proportion of the poor in every state were rural residents than the total population, the magnitude of the rural percent depended on how urban or rural the state was (Table 7). In the highly urban states, Florida and Texas, only about three out of ten poor were rural residents. In the most rural states, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Arkansas, nearly two-thirds of the poor were rural residents. In those states that were neither heavily urban nor rural, the poor were divided more or less evenly between urban and rural areas. There is more diversity between the states regarding the residence than other aspects of the poor population.

The poverty incidence for blacks across the Southern states was always much higher than that for whites. For the region, the black poverty incidence was 3.5 times as great as for whites (41 percent to 12 percent). Among the states there was a wide racial disparity[8] in terms of family poverty. For the individual states black family poverty incidence was 2.5 to 4.3 times as great as white families. The disparity was greatest within South Carolina where black families were 4.3 times more likely to be poor than white families (Table 10). Four other states with greater disparity than the region were Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi. The states with the lowest disparity between the races were Tennessee and Texas but blacks were still 2.5 times more likely to be poor than whites.

Economic Development

These facts about location and the race and sex of the family head have implications for economic development activities. An overall economic improvement in the South is essential. Yet it will not necessarily change the relative poverty rates between the four family-head groups unless other types of activities are undertaken.[9] Economic development activity confined to specific areas will benefit groups selectively.

Rural development will have the most chance of affecting the economic future of male-headed families as opposed to female-headed ones. Whether the policies would favor one race over the other depends to a great degree on the particular areas chosen for development. If the areas were heavily white, benefits would cause a reduction in the white male-headed family poverty rate, the group already with the lowest rate. This would result in relatively worsening the comparison between white males and the three other family-head types. If the areas were heavily black, black male-headed

[8] Statistically, racial disparity is measured by computing the ratio of black values to white values. Thus the ratio of the black poverty rate to the white poverty rate indicates a disparity between the races in the impact of poverty. A ratio of 1.0 indicates equivalent poverty rates for blacks and whites; a ratio of 2.0 that the black rate is twice the white rate and so on. For other discussions and uses see: Jack L. Bullard and Robert J. Smith, *Community Conditions in Charlotte, 1970*, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Community Relations Committee, 1974, and Michael J. Flax, *Blacks and Whites, An Experiment in Racial Indicators*, The Urban Institute.

[9] The economic improvements in the decade of the sixties which resulted in the number of poor being reduced substantially, principally affected male-headed families. The number of families in poverty was reduced from 1959 to 1968 by over 50 percent for white male and black male-headed families, by 17 percent for white female-headed families, and was *increased by 34 percent for black female-headed families*. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, "Poverty in the United States: 1959 to 1968," Series P-60, No. 68, 1969, page 3.

families' poverty rate would drop. This would improve the relative position of blacks vis-a-vis whites in the South. It would also improve the poverty comparison of black male-headed families in the South with counterparts in the non-South (the group which had the greatest regional differential in poverty rates).

Rural economic development in heavily black areas would also improve the earning potential of black women. This would primarily benefit husband-wife, that is by census definition male-headed, families. Whatever benefits accrued to rural black female-headed families would not change the overall poverty rates of black female-headed families very much since they are so overwhelmingly urban residents.

Services or activities directed to poor female-headed families would be of most benefit if located within urban areas since most of these families live there. This includes such activities as family-type services, day care and other child-centered programs, job training, labor market outreach, and other supportive services.

TABLE 1

Poverty Status of Persons, Families, and Unrelated Individuals, the United States, the Non-South, and the South, 1970
(Numbers in millions)

	United States		Non-South		11-State South		% in South	
	Total	Poor	Total	Poor	Total	Poor	Total	Poor
All Persons	198.1	27.1	149.4	16.7	48.7	10.3	25%	38%
Children*	69.9	10.4	52.3	6.1	17.6	4.2	25	41
Less than 65 years	108.9	11.6	82.5	7.2	26.4	4.3	24	37
65 years or older	19.2	5.2	14.6	3.5	4.6	1.7	24	34
All Families	51.2	5.5	38.5	3.3	12.7	2.1	25	39
Head less than 65	44.1	4.1	33.3	2.5	10.9	1.6	25	38
Head 65 or older	7.1	1.3	5.2	0.8	1.8	0.6	26	41
Unrelated Individuals	16.1	5.9	12.7	4.4	3.4	1.5	21	26
Less than 65 years	10.4	3.1	8.3	2.3	2.1	0.8	20	25
65 years or older	5.7	2.9	4.4	2.1	1.2	0.8	22	27

*Related children, under 18 years, living at home.
Source: Computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, PC(1)-C1, Tables 159, 182.

TABLE 2

Poverty Status of Family Heads by Race and Sex, the United States, the Non-South, and the South, 1970
(Numbers in millions)

	United States		Non-South		11-state South		% in South	
	Total	Poor	Total	Poor	Total	Poor	Total	Poor
All family heads	51.2	5.5	38.5	3.3	12.7	2.1	25	38
White	45.8	3.9	35.2	2.7	10.5	1.3	23	33
Black	4.9	1.5	2.7	0.6	2.1	0.9	43	60
Other races	0.5	0.1	0.5	0.1	*	*	—	—
Male	45.7	3.7	34.5	2.2	11.2	1.5	25	41
Female	5.5	1.8	4.0	1.1	1.5	0.6	27	33
White male	41.6	2.9	32.0	1.9	9.6	1.0	23	35
White female	4.1	1.1	3.2	0.8	0.9	0.3	22	27
Black male	3.5	0.7	2.0	0.2	1.6	0.5	46	71
Black female	1.3	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.3	39	43

*Less than 50,000.
Source: Computed from 1970 Census of Population, Fourth Count Summary Tapes and National Planning Data Corporation, *Demographics* USA, 1972.

TABLE 3
Families by Race and Sex of Family Head: Distribution of Poor Families and Poverty Rate, 1970

	White Male %	White Female %	Black Male %	Black Female %	Total Percent*	Total Number (000)
Alabama						
Poor families	46.0	12.9	24.3	16.4	99.6	181
Poverty rate	11.9	32.1	38.4	68.9		
Arkansas						
Poor families	56.6	10.1	22.2	10.9	99.8	115
Poverty rate	16.4	34.0	46.5	72.4		
Florida						
Poor families	50.1	14.9	18.1	16.4	99.5	229
Poverty rate	7.9	24.6	26.5	61.2		
Georgia						
Poor families	37.6	11.5	29.3	21.5	99.9	192
Poverty rate	8.8	27.4	31.9	59.7		
Louisiana						
Poor families	34.0	9.4	34.0	22.4	99.8	188
Poverty rate	10.8	30.8	38.9	70.2		
Mississippi						
Poor families	31.7	6.9	41.1	20.0	99.7	154
Poverty rate	14.3	33.7	53.2	77.2		
North Carolina						
Poor families	42.9	12.4	25.9	16.9	98.1	211
Poverty rate	9.5	28.1	31.4	60.4		
South Carolina						
Poor families	30.6	10.8	36.1	22.3	99.8	119
Poverty rate	8.5	29.3	37.2	66.4		
Tennessee						
Poor families	58.1	15.0	15.1	11.8	100.0	186
Poverty rate	13.4	33.1	29.5	60.2		
Texas						
Poor families	58.5	16.7	13.9	10.7	99.4	413
Poverty rate	10.6	32.3	24.5	59.0		
Virginia						
Poor families	44.8	16.8	21.8	16.1	99.5	143
Poverty rate	7.2	28.0	22.4	54.3		
11-State South						
Poor families	46.0	12.9	24.3	16.4	99.6	2,132
Poverty rate	10.2	29.8	33.0	63.6		

*The difference between the total percent and 100.0 represents other races (Orientals, Indians, etc.) excluded because of too few numbers.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 4
Families by Residence: Poverty Rates, 1970

	URBAN				RURAL	TOTAL
	Central Cities %	Urban Fringe %	10,000-49,999 %	2,500-9,999 %	%	%
Alabama	16.3	13.8	17.4	19.2	26.4	20.7
Arkansas	14.7	12.9	17.4	22.2	27.9	22.8
Florida	13.4	8.4	13.8	14.8	17.1	12.7
Georgia	17.8	5.8	17.9	19.3	20.6	16.7
Louisiana	19.4	10.2	21.7	23.8	28.2	21.5
Mississippi	17.1	12.5	23.2	24.8	35.1	28.9
N. Carolina	12.6	8.8	13.8	15.5	18.9	16.3
S. Carolina	18.7	11.5	15.9	17.0	22.4	19.0
Tennessee	14.2	5.8	14.7	17.7	23.4	18.2
Texas	13.3	5.8	15.8	19.4	21.0	14.6
Virginia	13.2	5.2	9.4	10.7	17.8	12.3
11-State South	14.5	7.7	16.2	18.3	22.5	16.8

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 5
Families by Race and Residence: Poverty Rates, 1970

	URBAN				RURAL	TOTAL
	Central Cities %	Urban Fringe %	10,000-49,999 %	2,500-9,999 %	%	%
Alabama						
White	7.6	7.1	10.8	13.2	19.4	13.6
Black	38.7	36.9	43.0	48.3	58.2	46.7
Arkansas						
White	8.8	9.0	11.7	15.9	23.4	17.7
Black	40.4	42.0	50.5	53.4	60.2	52.7
Florida						
White	9.2	6.8	8.5	11.2	13.7	9.5
Black	33.5	27.5	40.3	42.1	47.4	36.3
Georgia						
White	8.9	4.4	9.6	10.9	14.4	10.5
Black	31.0	24.8	41.4	45.0	51.5	39.7
Louisiana						
White	8.5	6.4	12.7	13.4	18.9	12.6
Black	40.2	35.1	48.8	51.9	59.0	47.4
Mississippi						
White	8.7	7.2	10.3	12.6	20.8	15.9
Black	40.4	44.9	50.7	54.8	66.7	59.2
North Carolina						
White	6.4	7.5	8.4	10.1	13.6	11.1
Black	30.1	22.2	35.5	40.0	44.8	38.7
South Carolina						
White	8.3	8.6	8.3	8.9	12.3	10.5
Black	40.2	31.3	36.6	40.5	50.0	44.7
Tennessee						
White	7.6	4.9	12.2	15.1	21.7	15.3
Black	34.0	35.9	37.6	40.6	51.1	38.0
Texas						
White	10.8	5.2	13.5	17.0	18.4	12.4
Black	27.2	26.6	35.7	44.6	50.2	32.7
Virginia						
White	7.4	4.1	7.7	8.1	14.3	9.0
Black	27.0	20.6	23.4	31.1	36.4	29.9
11-State South						
White	9.2	5.8	10.7	13.0	17.0	12.0
Black	32.4	29.3	41.3	45.3	52.1	41.0

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 6
Families by Race and Sex of Head and Residence: Poverty Rates, 1970

	White Male %	White Female %	Black Male %	Black Female %
Alabama				
Urban	7.2	27.7	29.5	66.2
Rural	17.8	39.9	53.2	74.9
Arkansas				
Urban	9.7	29.6	37.7	70.4
Rural	22.3	40.2	56.5	76.6
Florida				
Urban	6.8	22.9	23.6	59.7
Rural	12.3	34.2	40.2	70.5
Georgia				
Urban	5.6	24.6	24.3	56.9
Rural	13.0	32.5	46.6	68.3
Louisiana				
Urban	7.3	26.8	31.4	68.4
Rural	17.2	41.4	54.6	76.3
Mississippi				
Urban	8.2	28.1	38.2	73.9
Rural	19.3	39.8	63.0	80.9
North Carolina				
Urban	5.8	24.8	22.1	57.7
Rural	12.1	31.3	39.7	64.5
South Carolina				
Urban	6.1	29.0	27.4	61.5
Rural	10.7	29.7	43.9	71.3
Tennessee				
Urban	7.6	27.7	24.8	59.2
Rural	20.0	41.7	47.3	67.5
Texas				
Urban	8.7	31.2	20.4	57.4
Rural	7.2	38.5	45.4	70.4
Virginia				
Urban	3.9	25.0	16.0	53.0
Rural	12.6	34.2	31.9	57.6
11-State South				
Urban	7.1	27.2	25.0	60.9
Rural	15.5	36.1	47.2	70.8

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 7
Families by Residence: Distribution of All and Poor Families, 1970

	URBAN				RURAL	TOTAL	
	Central Cities	Urban Fringe	10,000-49,999	2,500-9,999		%	No. (000)
Alabama							
Total	25.3%	11.7	11.1	10.2	41.8%	100.1%	875
Poor	20.0	7.8	9.4	9.4	53.4	100.0	181
Arkansas							
Total	17.3	2.3	17.2	12.6	50.7	100.1	505
Poor	11.2	1.3	13.2	12.3	62.1	100.1	155
Florida							
Total	27.7	33.1	9.8	9.9	19.5	100.0	1,811
Poor	29.5	21.8	10.7	11.6	26.4	100.0	229
Georgia							
Total	21.9	19.2	9.5	9.2	40.2	100.0	1,150
Poor	23.2	6.6	10.1	10.6	49.5	100.1	192
Louisiana							
Total	31.8	15.9	9.0	9.6	33.7	100.0	873
Poor	28.7	7.5	9.1	10.6	44.1	100.0	188
Mississippi							
Total	10.9	3.6	19.8	10.7	55.1	100.1	534
Poor	6.5	1.5	15.9	9.2	66.9	100.0	154
N. Carolina							
Total	18.5	4.7	12.5	8.3	56.0	100.0	1,292
Poor	14.2	2.5	10.5	7.9	64.8	99.9	211
S. Carolina							
Total	8.2	16.1	10.9	12.3	52.6	100.1	629
Poor	8.1	9.8	9.1	11.0	62.1	100.1	119
Tennessee							
Total	33.1	3.6	12.1	8.8	42.4	100.0	1,024
Poor	25.9	1.1	9.7	8.6	54.6	99.9	186
Texas							
Total	47.4	13.8	9.0	8.8	21.0	100.0	2,818
Poor	43.0	5.5	9.7	11.6	30.1	99.9	413
Virginia							
Total	23.5	27.6	5.9	5.7	37.2	99.9	1,162
Poor	25.2	11.6	4.5	4.9	53.8	100.0	143
11-State South							
Total	28.7	15.8	10.5	9.2	35.7	99.9	12,674
Poor	24.7	7.2	10.1	10.0	48.1	100.1	2,132

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 8
Families by Race and Residence: Distribution of Poor, 1970

	URBAN				RURAL	TOTAL	
	Central Cities	Urban Fringe	10,000-49,999	2,500-9,999		%	No. (000)
Alabama							
White	12.9%	6.0	8.9	10.3	61.9%	100.0%	94
Black	27.6	9.8	9.9	8.4	44.3	100.0	87
Arkansas							
White	8.2	1.2	11.2	10.9	68.5	100.0	77
Black	17.2	1.5	17.1	15.0	49.2	100.0	38
Florida							
White	25.4	25.1	8.5	11.8	29.3	100.1	149
Black	37.0	15.6	14.9	11.2	21.2	99.9	79
Georgia							
White	14.3	9.7	8.2	9.1	58.7	100.0	94
Black	31.9	3.6	12.0	12.0	40.5	100.0	98
Louisiana							
White	18.9	9.5	9.2	10.1	52.4	100.1	81
Black	36.3	5.9	9.0	11.1	37.7	100.0	106
Mississippi							
White	6.3	2.0	12.5	8.5	70.8	100.1	60
Black	6.6	1.3	18.1	9.6	64.4	100.0	94
N. Carolina							
White	9.6	3.5	9.3	7.6	70.0	100.0	117
Black	20.7	1.2	12.4	8.6	57.1	100.0	91
S. Carolina							
White	5.8	15.3	8.5	10.4	60.0	100.0	49
Black	9.6	5.6	9.5	11.5	63.7	99.9	70
Tennessee							
White	14.2	1.3	10.0	9.0	65.6	100.1	136
Black	57.6	.8	9.1	7.4	25.1	100.0	50
Texas							
White	39.2	6.3	9.8	12.3	32.4	100.0	310
Black	54.5	2.8	9.2	9.6	23.9	100.0	100
Virginia							
White	16.2	14.1	5.4	5.4	59.0	100.1	88
Black	39.3	7.4	3.3	4.2	45.9	100.1	54
11-State South							
White	20.6	8.5	9.2	10.1	51.5	99.9	1,256
Black	30.7	5.2	11.4	9.9	42.9	100.1	866

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 9
Families by Race and Sex of Head: Percent of Poor Living in Urban Areas*, 1970

	White Male %	White Female %	Black Male %	Black Female %
Alabama	33.8	55.0	48.1	67.2
Arkansas	28.0	51.0	43.6	65.2
Florida	68.2	79.3	73.9	84.2
Georgia	36.0	58.4	50.1	72.3
Louisiana	43.3	63.4	53.8	75.2
Mississippi	26.1	43.9	28.6	50.0
North Carolina	25.9	44.2	33.4	57.4
South Carolina	34.5	55.6	29.8	46.7
Tennessee	30.1	51.4	66.4	85.8
Texas	63.6	81.8	69.5	85.0
Virginia	33.8	60.2	42.6	69.8
11-State South	44.1	64.0	48.4	69.9

*The percent living in rural areas is the difference between 100.0% and the percent urban.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 10
Families by Race: Number of Poor and Poverty Rates and Ratio of Black to White Poverty Rate, 1970
(Numbers in thousands)

	WHITE		BLACK		TOTAL*		Ratio**
	Number of Poor	Poverty Rate	Number of Poor	Poverty Rate	Number of Poor	Poverty Rate	Black/ White
Alabama	94	13.6%	87	46.7%	181	20.7%	3.4
Arkansas	77	17.7	38	52.7	115	22.8	3.0
Florida	149	9.5	79	36.3	229	12.7	3.8
Georgia	94	10.5	98	39.7	192	16.7	3.8
Louisiana	81	12.6	106	47.4	188	21.5	3.8
Mississippi	60	15.9	94	59.2	154	28.9	3.7
North Carolina	117	11.1	91	38.7	211	16.3	3.5
South Carolina	49	10.5	70	44.7	119	19.0	4.3
Tennessee	136	15.3	50	38.0	186	18.2	2.5
Texas	310	12.4	100	32.7	413	14.6	2.6
Virginia	88	9.0	54	29.9	143	12.3	3.3
11-State South	1,256	11.9	866	41.0	2,132	16.8	3.5
United States	3,922	8.6	1,450	29.8	5,462	10.7	3.5

*The total number includes members of other races (Orientals, Indians, etc.) hence may be greater than the sum of whites and blacks.
**Ratio of black family poverty rate (column 4) to white family poverty rate (column 2).
Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, U. S. Summary, Table 95 and states, 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 11
Unrelated Individuals Less than 65 Years by Race: Number of Poor and Poverty Rates, 1970
(Numbers in thousands)

	WHITE		BLACK		TOTAL	
	No. of Poor	Poverty Rate	No. of Poor	Poverty Rate	No. of Poor	Poverty Rate
Alabama	31	37.2%	21	59.4%	52	44.0%
Arkansas	21	39.3	9	64.5	30	44.7
Florida	84	28.6	30	44.7	115	31.7
Georgia	42	29.3	28	51.2	70	35.4
Louisiana	38	37.3	25	58.2	64	43.5
Mississippi	17	37.9	19	64.7	36	48.5
North Carolina	48	33.8	25	52.7	74	38.5
South Carolina	20	31.9	15	58.2	35	40.1
Tennessee	41	35.6	15	51.3	56	38.8
Texas	127	29.9	36	46.7	164	32.5
Virginia	44	24.8	21	47.0	65	29.2
11-State South	512	31.2	245	52.2	762	35.9

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

CHAPTER II THE WORKING POOR

SUMMARY

1. *In 1970 six out of ten poor family heads under age 65 in the South were working compared to five out of ten in the rest of the nation.*
2. *For all four race/sex groupings the percentage of poor who were working was greater in the South than in states outside the region. The greatest difference, however, was for poor black female family heads. Nearly twice as high a proportion of such women in the South were working as in the non-South.*
3. *Of Southern employed family heads, 54 percent of black females, 26 percent of black males, 18 percent of white females and six percent of white males did not earn enough to keep their families out of poverty.*
4. *In 1970 the industrial structure of the South was still more weighted toward low wage industries than the nation's. It had higher proportions of its labor force working in agriculture, mining, construction, nondurable manufacturing (especially in textiles), and personal services; and lower proportions in durable manufacturing, business services and other professional services.*
5. *Operatives in blue collar occupations formed the largest occupational group among the South's poor male family heads, nearly one-fourth. Together farmers and farm laborers accounted for one-fifth of poor male family-head employment.*
6. *Blue collar occupations together accounted for the employment of six out of ten of all poor male heads.*
7. *Almost half of Southern farm laborers and about one-quarter of Southern farm owners were in poverty. However, for blacks, the poverty rate of farm owners was nearly as high as for farm laborers, 58 percent compared to 65 percent.*
8. *Poor employed female family heads were more heavily concentrated in service occupations than in any other group. Fifty-eight percent worked either outside the home in such jobs as waitress, counter-worker, dishwasher, cleaner, nursing aide, maid, hairdresser, child care worker, and cook, or as private household workers. Seventy-one percent of poor black female heads were in such occupations.*
9. *One-fifth of employed poor female family heads worked in blue collar occupations, the same proportion as in white collar jobs.*
10. *Poverty rates for black female heads were double those for all women in sales and clerical and blue collar jobs, but more or less on a par for service type jobs.*
11. *Poverty rates for males in all occupational groups were higher in rural than urban areas, but for females there was very little difference by residence. One exception was female blue collar work in rural areas where poverty rates were lower than for similarly employed women in urban areas.*
12. *With the erosion of the farming population over the past two decades rural poverty is no longer confined to those involved in agriculture. The rural poor are very substantially working in blue collar jobs of various sorts.*
13. *As a factor in reduced earnings, part-time work among the working poor is not as important as a short work year. Only a little over half of the working poor in the South were employed a full year.*
14. *Southerners have received less formal education than the nation's population as a whole. Among the working-age family heads (25 to 64 years) in the South, slightly less than half have graduated from high school compared to 57 percent in the nation. As for the Southern poor, only one in five has finished high school and nearly half have not even attended high school.*
15. *By race and sex of family heads the education of the poor varies considerably. Over one-third of poor white women had high school education or more; of white males, over one-fifth; of black females over one-sixth; and of black males only one-tenth.*
16. *Of family heads who were high school graduates, a wide variation in poverty rates prevailed—over half of black females were poor compared with only four percent of white males. For those poor heads who were college graduates, poverty rates for males were quite low, but for females much higher, indicating the persistence of sex rather than race discrimination among college graduates.*
17. *Union membership in the eleven Southern states in 1970 numbered 2.4 million, or 15 percent of the non-agricultural work force, compared to 28 percent for the United States as a whole.*
18. *The earnings differential between unionized and non-unionized workers was greater in the South than in the rest of the nation, with unionized workers earning considerably more than their non-unionized counterparts.*

Of the heads of poor families in the South in 1970 who could reasonably be expected to work—those under 65 years—the large majority, six out of ten *were* working. Of the non-elderly family heads who were not employed some were disabled, in school, the unemployed seeking work, raising young children, or finally, either "discouraged" workers or otherwise disaffected from the labor market.

The South had a greater concentration of the nation's working poor[1] 44 percent, than it had of all poor persons, 38 percent. This resulted in higher proportions of working poor, among *all* poor in the South than in the non-South—61 percent compared to 50 percent. For all four race/sex groupings the percentage who were working poor was also greater in the South than in the non-South.

Working Poor as a Percent of Poor Family Heads Under 65 Years, 1970

	Non-South	South
All family heads	50%	61%
White male	66	67
White female	31	39
Black male	58	74
Black female	25	49

Source: Table 12.

The difference between the South and the non-South in the proportion of poor who were working was greatest for black female heads—nearly twice as great a proportion in the South as in the non-South. The lower proportion for female heads in the non-South was probably due in part to the more liberal public assistance eligibility requirements outside the South where female heads are less likely to have to resort to poorly paid work. The regional differentials also probably indicate less availability and less likelihood of coverage by other kinds of income assistance programs.

The situation of Southern poor family heads with respect to employment is more forcefully shown by their poverty rates. For employed family heads in the South over half of black women, about one-fourth of black men, about one-fifth of white women, and one-twentieth of white men did not earn enough to keep their families out of poverty. The higher incidence of poverty among employed blacks and particularly among black females—suggests the degree to which traditional employment patterns in the South have relegated blacks to the most menial and lowest paying jobs. These data also show that employed heads had proportionally lower poverty rates than all family heads. The proportional difference for the black female heads was the least. The persistence of poverty among this group in spite of employment indicates the degree to which their jobs paid sub-poverty wages.

Poverty Rates for Families with Heads Under 65 in the South, 1970

	All Heads	Employed Heads
White males	10%	6%
White females	30	18
Black males	33	26
Black females	64	54

Source: Tables 3 and 13.

In 1970 among poor families headed by males there were 139,000 with both husband and wife employed. Most of these were black—79,000—which was twenty-two percent of all poor black husband-wife families. In still another way this demonstrates the poorer position of blacks in the South. The 40,000 white families in similar circumstances accounted for fewer—nine percent—of poor white husband-wife families.[2]

Factors relevant to the poverty of the employed in the South include the nature of the industrial and wage structure in the region compared to the nation, the occupational distribution for poor family heads, and the persistence of underemployment.

Industrial Structure of the South

The industrial structure of the South compared to the United States is characterized by higher proportions of industries which have lower earnings, seasonal and other irregular work periods, less capital investment, more intensive use of labor, and less technological innovation. The industries of which the South had higher proportions than the nation in 1970 included the primary sector—agriculture and mining, construction, nondurable manufacturing, and personal services. The South also had slightly higher proportions of federal public administration. The region's proportion of industries which are considered to have higher requirements for skilled and/or educated manpower are lower than the nation as a whole. These industries included durable manufacturing; finance, insurance, and real estate (F.I.R.E.); business services; and other professional services (see Table 14). The region also had a slightly lower proportion in state and local public administration.

With respect to manufacturing it is well known that the South has larger proportions of the textile and fabricated textile industries, and to a lesser extent the furniture and wood products industries. In the South over six percent of the labor force was in the textile industries compared to about three percent for the nation. Employment in the region in furniture and wood products industries was somewhat greater than in the nation, but in other durable manufacturing was much less than in the nation. Whereas the entire country had over 14 percent of employment in the durable sectors which include primary and fabricated metals, machinery, and motor vehicle manufacturing, the South had less than nine percent in these sectors.

[1] Working poor are those poor persons whose income in 1969 was below the poverty level and who were employed (full or part-time) at the time of the 1970 Census.
[2] Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, State volumes, Table 209.

In the service sector, the South, compared to the nation, had greater proportions of its labor force in household oriented services. Personal services (hotels and other lodging places, laundries, dry cleaners, barber and beauty shops, shoe repair) and private households employed relatively more persons in the South. The services which are primarily, but not exclusively, for businesses (F.I.R.E.; business services including advertising, research, management, and programming services; and other professional services, including legal, engineering, and accounting services) were less well represented in the region. The household-oriented services are usually performed by the least skilled of the labor force and the business-oriented services by highly trained personnel. But the business type services, also, have needs which include many white collar support personnel. These white collar workers are not particularly well-paid or highly skilled, but usually must be high school graduates. The white collar industries therefore, require both the highly paid professional and many less educated workers, but those with high school diplomas.

Relatively fewer persons are employed in the various sectors delivering health care in the South compared with the nation. The region also had a somewhat smaller percentage of its labor force in educational services than the nation.

The industrial mix in the South is more heavily influenced by low wage industries, and consequently earnings levels are lower than those in the nation. The data used in this report did not report the industry of poor employed persons. But examining the proportions of earners with incomes less than $4,000 annually, according to industry, indicates those industries where the officially classified poor would be concentrated. For men, higher proportions of low earners than of all earners were found in agriculture, wholesale and retail trade, construction, and personal services. For women the proportions of low earners were highest in personal service and wholesale and retail trade (see Table 15).

As the South has moved away from its former agricultural employment emphasis, the former agricultural workers have moved into other jobs. Manufacturing has been a major growth sector in the South, and its rate of growth has been higher in non-metropolitan than in metropolitan areas.[3] However, many of the manufacturing jobs have been low paying (the textile and apparel sectors, especially) and in sectors in which unionization is slight. Beyond the creation of more jobs in the goods producing sector are opportunities to create jobs in sectors which serve human needs. Unmet needs include a shortage of adequate housing, a shortage and maldistribution of health resources and facilities, and the still lower high school completion rate of black youths. Public commitment to meeting these needs could create jobs in the construction, health, and educational sectors for both higher skilled and/or educated workers and low skilled ones (such as service workers in hospitals) and also improve the circumstances of those who are served.

Occupations of Poor Male Family Heads

Poor employed male family heads in the South were most likely to work either in farming or blue collar occupations. This is in contrast to all (i.e., including non-poor) employed male family heads who were employed mostly in white collar and blue collar occupations. Operatives (including transport operatives) formed the largest occupational group among the South's poor male family heads, nearly one-fourth. Together farmers and farm laborers accounted for one-fifth of poor male family head employment. Craftsmen accounted for 18 percent and non-farm laborers, 16 percent. Altogether the blue collar occupations accounted for six out of ten employed poor males in the South (See Tables 16, 17, and 18).

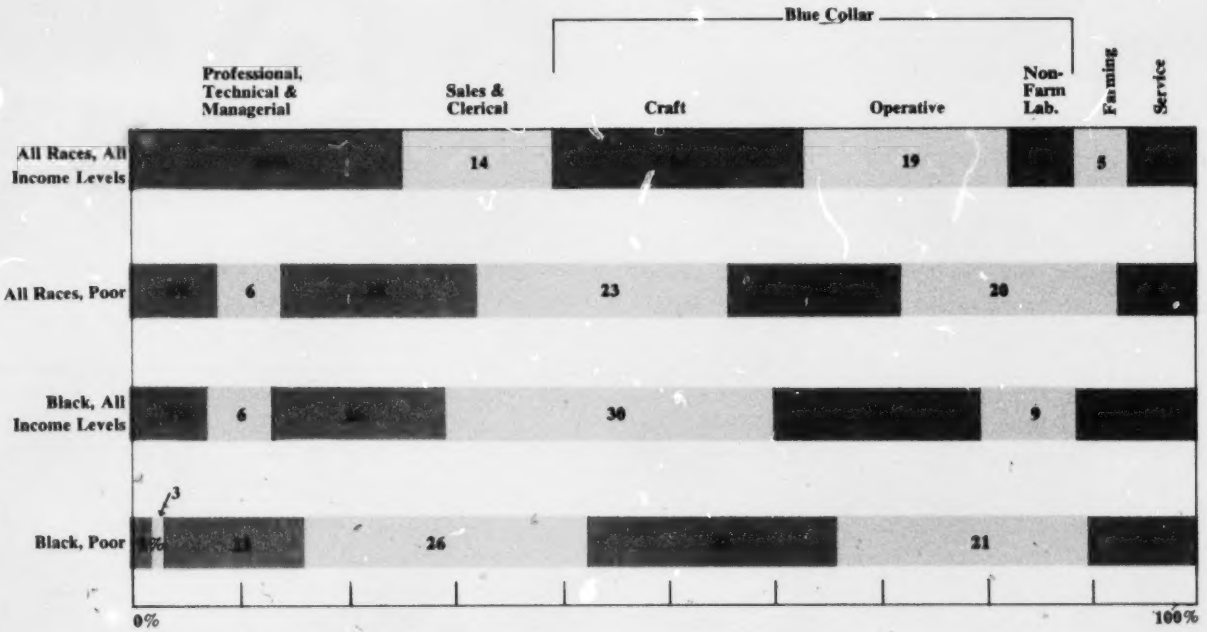
Black male family heads when compared with all male family heads were less likely to have had a white collar occupation (13 percent compared to 40 percent) and more likely to have had a laboring or operative occupation (49 percent compared to 25 percent). Fewer blacks, relatively, were employed in craft jobs and more in service jobs. The *poor* among black male family heads were even less likely to have had white collar jobs or craft jobs. They were most likely to have had laboring jobs. A higher percentage of poor black males (one-fifth), than of all black males were employed in farming (as owners or farm laborers).

Though farming occupations (which include both farm owners and farm laborers) employed relatively few male family heads, the poverty rates for these occupations were the highest. Almost half of farm laborers and about one-quarter of owners were in poverty. As for non-farm laborers, nearly one-quarter were poor. This occupational group, whose primary requirement is physical strength, worked in all industries and held such jobs as garbage collector, construction laborer, freight and material handler, lumberman, warehouseman, vehicle washer, stock handler. Otherwise, poverty rates in excess of 10 percent were registered for transport equipment operatives, service workers, and operatives. The professionals, technical and managerial, clerical and sales workers, and craftsmen groups had relatively low poverty rates.

Sixty-five percent of black male farm laborers were poor, the highest poverty rate for any male occupation group. Unlike the farmer poverty rate for all males, which was about half that of farm laborers, the farmer poverty rate for black males (58 percent) was close to that for farm laborers. Black male farm owners, then, were little better off than farm laborers. The

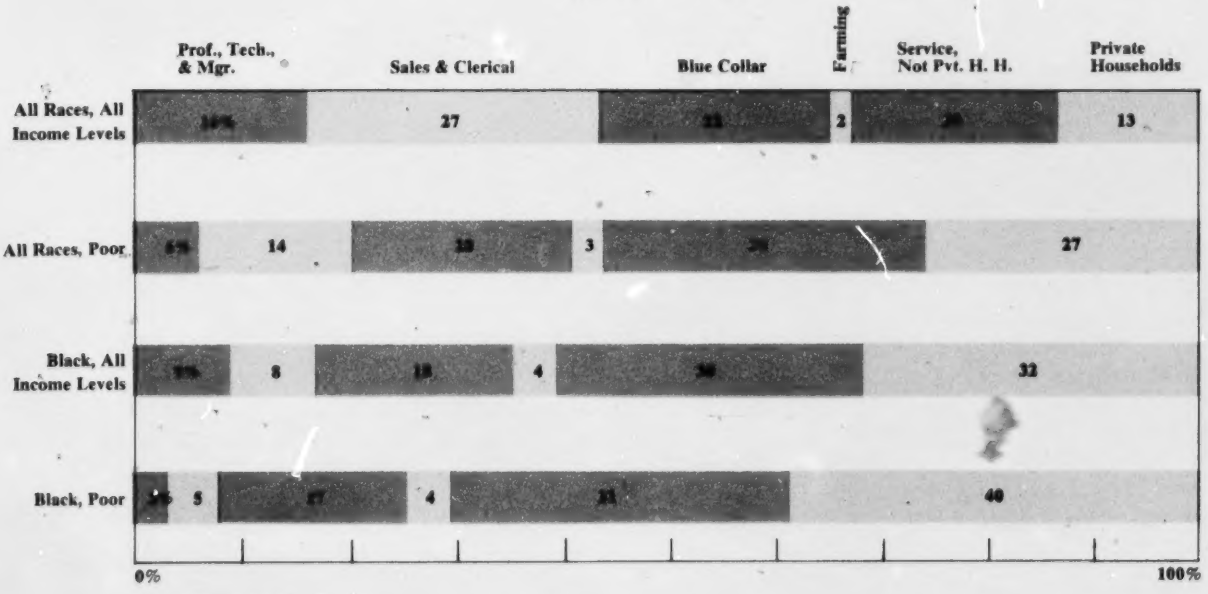
[3]Thomas E. Till, "Rural Industrialization and Southern Rural Poverty in the 1960's: Patterns of Labor Demand in Southern Non-Metropolitan Labor Markets and their Impact on Poverty" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1972).

CHART 3
MALE FAMILY HEADS: OCCUPATIONS OF THE EMPLOYED
IN THE SOUTH, 1970



Source: Table 16.

CHART 4
FEMALE FAMILY HEADS: OCCUPATIONS OF THE EMPLOYED
IN THE SOUTH, 1970



Source: Table 19.

next highest poverty rate for black males was among non-farm laborers, 32 percent. The poverty rates for the other blue collar and service occupations were at least one in five.

Occupations of Poor Female Family Heads

Poor employed female heads were more heavily concentrated in service occupations than in any other group. Fifty-eight percent worked either outside the home in such jobs as waitress, counter worker, dishwasher, cleaner, nursing aide, maid, hairdresser, child care worker, and cook, or as private household workers. The next largest proportion of poor—one-fifth—were blue collar workers in such occupations as sewer, stitcher, spinner, textile operative, checker, examiner, packer, wrapper, and laundry and dry cleaning operative. A similar proportion (one-fifth) worked in white collar occupations, mostly as sales and clerical persons, but some as professional and technical managers. In contrast, of *all* female heads four out of ten were in white collar jobs; but about the same proportion in blue collar work as the poor (Tables 19, 20 and 21).

Employment among *all* black female family heads was predominantly in service occupations, 62 percent, split about evenly between private households and non-household employment. This was much greater than that for all female heads (33 percent). The percentage in white collar occupations for black females was 16 percent compared with 43 percent for all female heads. Among *poor* black female heads the proportion who had service jobs was still greater than among *all* black females, 71 percent, with 40 percent in households.

Poverty rates for women of all races were especially severe for service workers, both non-household and household (45 and 66 percent respectively), and also for blue collar occupations (27 percent). As with all comparisons made between the sexes, women had higher poverty rates than men for the same occupations (see Tables 16 and 19). The poverty rates among black females in service occupations were only slightly higher than those among all females. But for white collar and blue collar occupations black female poverty rates were much higher.

Poverty Rates for Female Family Heads, in Selected Occupational Groups in the South, 1970

	All Races	Black
Sales and Clerical	16%	38%
Blue Collar	27	55
Service		
Outside household	45	56
Private household	66	68
All Occupations	31	54

Source: Table 19.

The similarity in poverty rates for black and all female heads in service occupations probably implies less disparity in wage treatment between the races. Since these jobs are low wage, whoever holds them, black or white, is probably poor. On the other hand, blue and white collar employment pay higher wages and have a wider range than service jobs. Therefore the dissimilarity in poverty rates in these occupations implies a greater dissimilarity in wages with black women holding more of the lower paid jobs.

The occupational segregation of blacks and women in large part explains their much higher poverty rates. Employment opportunities in the South should improve as a wider variety of industry locates in the region. But without an attack on race and sex discrimination the usual pattern of white men increasing their advantage will continue. It is not enough to provide blacks and women with what is left over after white men have "creamed" the job market. Employment stimulation, coupled with strong anti-discrimination measures should be undertaken. Various manpower and training programs are also appropriate for blacks and women.

Urban and Rural Differences

An examination of poverty rates according to urban and rural residence for male and female heads showed once again that residence makes little difference in the poverty situation of the female head. Male rates for all occupational groups appear higher in rural than urban areas but females showed much smaller differences (Table 22). An exception to this were blue collar poverty rates for female heads which were lower in rural areas. This may be due to the prevalence of textile and apparel factories in rural areas compared to even lower-paid manufacturing jobs in urban areas.

Over the last two decades the farming population has been eroded drastically in every southern state (Table 23). Thus as Table 22 shows, rural poverty is not confined to the farming population. The rural poor are very substantially working in blue collar work of various sorts, although the farming occupations have very high poverty rates. For male heads in rural areas non-farm laborers had the second highest poverty rate, next to farm laborers, with farmers slightly less subject to poverty than non-farm laborers.

Full-time and Full-year Employment

Since earnings are related to time worked as well as to rates of pay, underemployment, lack of full-time and/or full-year employment can seriously reduce workers' earnings. Three-quarters of poor employed family heads worked full-time, 35 hours or more a week. This varied according to the race and sex of the head, but only black women were significantly below the three-quarter figure, a fact that was no doubt due to their heavy concentration in service jobs where work weeks are short. (Nationally the work week for household domestic workers averaged 29 hours in 1974.[4])

[4] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, *Occupational Characteristics*, PC(2)-7A, Tables 45 and 46.

Percent of Employed Poor Working Full-time (35-hours or more a week) in the South, 1970	
White males	79%
White females	72
Black males	77
Black females	60

Source: Table 24

A short work-year, less than 50-52 weeks, accounted substantially for the reduced earnings of the employed poor. Slightly over half of the working poor in the South were employed a full year, with a higher percentage of males so employed. The rate for black males was similar to that for all males, but a higher percentage of black females than all females worked a full year.

Percent of Employed Poor Working Full-Year (50-52 weeks in 1969) in the South, 1970	
All males	57%
Black males	56
All females	47
Black females	50

Source: Table 25.

Reduced weeks of work experienced by the poor are related to the industries of their employment, such as farming, household service, construction and other outdoor laboring jobs, which employed many of the poor in these states. Among the total civilian labor force (poor and non-poor) in the nation who worked in 1970 nearly three-quarters of males and just over one-half of females worked the full year. Nationally, industries in which a smaller proportion of labor forces worked 50-52 weeks included construction, personal services (including private households), entertainment and recreation, professional and related services, retail trade, and agriculture.[5] These were the same industries, with the exception of professional and related services, that had higher than average proportions of low earners (see Table 15). Three of those industries (construction, personal service, and agriculture) employed relatively more of the South's labor force than of the nation's (Table 14). The standard eight-hour day, 52-week year is not a common feature of these industries—construction and recreation have seasonal fluctuation; in retailing, the longer day and seasonal fluctuations necessitate variable manning schedules; restaurant employment depends on serving schedules; and private household work is at the whim of employers who can cancel with no penalty to them.

In addition to the institutionalized irregular scheduling in some industries, workers are laid off in others when the work force exceeds the work load. This is particularly true for production workers in manufacturing. Voluntary resignations from jobs and subsequent unemployment are contributing factors to shorter work years, but irregularities in work schedules are more significant causes of poverty among the work force. Those with low-paying jobs are often employed in sectors where employment is not steady over the year.

Even working the full year, however, does not guarantee freedom from poverty. Six percent of all Southern males who were employed the full year were poor, 21 percent of all females, 21 percent of black males, and 47 percent of black females.[6] A minimum wage job ($1.60 per hour in 1969) would have earned a worker $3328 per year for 40 hours for 52 weeks, about $400 under the poverty line for a family of four. Any full-time, full-year job paying less than $1.80 per hour would have resulted in a poverty income for a family of four in 1969.

Since so many Southern working poor lack full-year work, income supplementation programs, if improved and extended, could keep more of these families out of poverty. The unemployment insurance programs need to be expanded in coverage and benefits. AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) programs for families with an unemployed father (AFDC-UF) as well as general assistance supplementation programs for low income working families, such as many Northern states have, are seriously needed in Southern states. None has an AFDC-UF program. A few have general assistance programs; all of them very modest.

Since jobs that pay wages above the poverty level are not universally available, investment in human resources (usually education and training) has been advocated as a way to improve the labor supply and therefore create the necessary human capital to upgrade employment opportunities. But education is not necessarily a panacea.

Education and the Poor

In the quest for a higher paying job many have resorted to the credentials race. At a time when employers are raising hiring requirements, often to levels that are unnecessary for the performance of the work, the acquisition of credentials by those in the labor market is frequently an over-response to employer demands.[7] But in an atmosphere of rising educational requirements for jobs, those without credentials can suffer a competitive disadvantage.

[5] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, *Industrial Characteristics*, PC (2)-7B, Table 6.

[6] Computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, *Detailed Characteristics*, PC(1)-D Series, Table 210.

[7] An idea developed by Lester Thurow, "Education and Economic Equality" in *The Public Interest*, No. 28, Summer, 1972.

Southerners have received less formal education than the nation's population as a whole.[8] Among working-age family heads (25 to 64 years) in the South slightly less than half have graduated from high school compared with 57 percent in the nation. The Southern poor are particularly handicapped in terms of achieved education. Only one in five has finished high school and nearly half have not even attended high school.

Education Completed for Family Heads, 25-64 Years in the South, 1970

	All Family Heads	Poor Family Heads
No high school	21%	46%
Attended high school	30	34
High school graduate	36	18
College graduate	13	2
Total	100%	100%

Source: Computed from 4th Count Tapes.

According to race and sex of the family head, the education of the poor varies considerably. Over one-third of poor white women had high school diplomas or more education; of white males, over one-fifth; of black females, over one-sixth; and of black males, only one-tenth. Sixty percent of poor black males had not even attended high school and 46 percent of poor white males had not. While poor women of both races have higher rates of high school attendance than poor men, poor black females were exceeded in completion of high school by poor white males (Table 26).

Though a higher percentage of poor white women had completed more years of education, their poverty rates were worse than the poorest educated group (black males). And black females' poverty rates were high in spite of their having more education than black men (Table 27).

Of family heads who were high school graduates over half of black females were poor, compared with only four percent of white males. Black male graduates had substantially higher poverty rates than white males, and white women higher rates than black males. These poverty rate differences cannot be totally attributed to qualitative differences in education, since males and females of the same race were usually educated in the same schools.

Poverty Rates for Family Heads, 25-64 Years in the South, 1970

	High school graduates	College graduates
White males	4%	2%
White females	22	12
Black males	15	3
Black females	54	12

Source: Table 27.

Among college graduates, the poverty rates for both black and white male family heads were similar and low, and for both black and white women were also similar, but over four times higher than for males. Poverty rates for college graduates indicate less racial discrimination, but far more sex discrimination (Table 27).

Lack of education is frequently cited as a cause of rural poverty. In the South the rural poor population has completed less years of schooling than the urban poor. Over half—55 percent—of rural poor family heads 25-64 years old have never attended high school compared to 38 percent of urban poor heads; 14 percent of rural heads completed high school or more compared with 25 percent of urban poor heads (Table 28).

Poverty Rates for Family Heads, 25-64 Years in the South, 1970

	Urban	Rural
No high school	27%	35%
Attended high school	15	18
High school graduate	7	8
College graduate	2	4

Source: Table 29.

However, although rural poverty rates always exceeded urban poverty rates for the various completed education groups, the differences were not as great as between various race and sex groups. For those with no high school the comparison of poverty incidence betweeen rural and urban heads was 27 percent to 35 percent. The same comparison by race and sex of head show white males with a 21 percent poverty rate and black females, 70 percent. These relationships are also true for the other educational-group comparisons (Tables 27 and 29). In general race and sex of the head are more potent indicators of poverty than residence among the various achieved education groups.

Clearly just more education is not *enough* to combat poverty. Among the less well-educated are many who are not poor. For instance, 80 percent of white males who did *not* attend high school are *not* poor. The other demographic groups were not so fortunate, however. Educational credentials are useful where realistically applied and if they are not overlaid by race and sex discrimination. But as we have seen, the black, the female, and, most particularly, the black female receive heavy penalties, often in spite of having acquired the necessary credentials.

[8] The educational disparity between the South and the rest of the nation has been decreasing since younger Southerners have received more education than their elders. The distribution of years of school completed for the age group 25-29 in 1972, in contrast to that above for all working aged family heads, shows that the South compares much more favorably to the rest of the nation.

	Non-South	South
No high school	5%	10%
Attended high school	13	16
High school graduate	63	57
College graduate	20	17

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 243, "Educational Attainment: March 1972," 1972, Table 8.

In addition to the problems of discrimination which interfere with the optimum allocation of jobs, the investment in human resources approach can create a supply of workers that exceeds demand. A more fundamental criticism, however, is that this approach rewards those with formal credentials—whether job related or not—at the expense of those without such credentials. A more humane allocation of wages recognizes the merit in the contribution of all jobs and puts a wage floor under them. This would have the virtue of not unrealistically raising job expectations when, in our economy, unpleasant or even demeaning jobs, with little advancement opportunity will certainly continue. In the absence of a governmental sponsored wage floor for *all* work, labor unions have been the best protection for those workers who are not in the professional and managerial classes.

Union Membership in the South

Traditionally, those workers who neither seek nor are required to have educational credentials, use collective action to improve their economic position. While unions are increasingly common in white collar work, their impact historically has been among non-manufacturing crafts and manufacturing production workers. The South as a region has lagged behind the rest of the nation in union membership and consequently in collective bargaining. Ten Southern states have right-to-work laws (all except Louisiana). This climate against organizing and opposition from vested interests has inhibited many an organizing drive; and, as a result, the blue collar workers are deprived of what could be a potent protector against the poverty-producing circumstance of their work.

In the South the proportion of wage and salaried workers who are union members is a little over half that of the United States as a whole. Union membership in the 11 Southern states in 1970 numbered 2.4 million, or 15 percent of the non-agricultural work force, compared with 28 percent for the United States (Table 30). Even in those industries that traditionally are highly unionized, the South has a lower rate of union membership. The construction industry in the South is 22 percent unionized compared with 39 percent in the nation; durable manufacturing and nondurable manufacturing respectively are 25 percent and 17 percent unionized in the South, compared with 37 percent and 29 percent for the United States. The nondurable manufacturing unionization proportion is especially low in the South because the region has a disproportionately high share of the textile industry, which nationally is the least unionized of all manufacturing.

Even though the South is relatively less organized, the unionized employees have higher median earnings than their non-unionized counterparts. In fact, the earnings differential between union and non-union employees is greater in the South than in any other region for males and for females greater than the Northeast but slightly below the North Central and the West.

Median Earnings of Union and Non-union Workers and Ratio of Union to Non-union Workers' Earnings*

	Union	Non-union	Ratio Union/ non-union
South			
Males	$8,053	$5,839	1.38
Females	4,483	2,601	1.72
Northeast			
Males	8,385	7,353	1.14
Females	4,422	3,160	1.41

*U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Selected Earnings and Demographic Characteristics of Union Members, 1970*, Report 417, 1972, Table 9.

The Southern female differential between union and non-union earnings is greater than males. Since many females are in manufacturing, there is potential for altering their financial situation through unionization.

The data also show that for both males and females in the South who are unionized the median earnings are only slightly lower than their Northeast counterparts. Thus the Southern labor force stands to gain more from unionization than other regions of the nation.

TABLE 12

Poor Family Heads Less Than 65 Years by Race and Sex of Head: Number and Percent with Head Employed, 1970

(Numbers in thousands)

	WHITE MALES		WHITE FEMALES		BLACK MALES		BLACK FEMALES		TOTAL*	
	No. Employed	% Poor Employed	No. Employed	% Poor Employed	No. Employed	% Poor Employed	No. Employed	% Poor Employed	No. Employed	% Poor Employed
Alabama	33	65.8	5	38.1	29	73.6	14	47.4	80	61.1
Arkansas	27	62.6	4	40.4	12	68.2	4	41.6	46	58.5
Florida	42	61.6	13	44.3	25	75.9	20	58.9	100	60.9
Georgia	32	66.5	7	40.3	34	76.5	18	51.2	91	62.7
Louisiana	29	63.6	5	36.4	35	69.8	15	41.4	85	57.6
Mississippi	20	63.6	3	40.7	34	72.4	12	46.2	69	61.7
North Carolina	41	66.6	8	37.2	33	76.4	13	44.8	97	61.3
South Carolina	16	64.4	4	34.0	27	76.6	10	48.7	57	61.9
Tennessee	47	64.5	7	35.1	15	72.2	5	46.4	78	58.5
Texas	132	74.1	25	43.6	31	73.7	21	57.8	211	66.6
Virginia	28	62.6	6	31.9	18	76.0	8	40.5	61	55.9
11-State South	448	66.9	86	39.5	292	73.9	144	48.7	975	61.7
Non-South	835	65.6	213	31.3	103	57.5	84	24.8	1,267	49.7
United States	1,283	66.0	300	33.3	395	68.8	228	35.9	2,242	54.3

*Includes all races.

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, U. S. Summary, Table 261 and state volumes, Table 209.

TABLE 13

Employed Family Heads Less Than 65 Years by Race and Sex of Head: Poverty Rates, 1970

	White Males %	White Females %	Black Males %	Black Females %	Total %
Alabama	6.8	19.1	30.5	62.1	12.8
Arkansas	9.4	22.6	36.0	64.3	13.7
Florida	4.4	16.5	20.9	54.3	8.5
Georgia	4.9	16.2	25.3	50.4	10.5
Louisiana	6.3	18.5	30.9	61.2	13.4
Mississippi	7.8	21.4	43.8	70.6	18.9
North Carolina	5.4	15.4	25.8	49.6	10.0
South Carolina	4.8	15.7	30.5	57.6	12.1
Tennessee	7.5	18.3	21.3	48.8	10.3
Texas	7.4	21.2	17.8	51.9	9.9
Virginia	4.2	14.2	17.3	42.0	7.2
11-State South	6.1	18.0	25.7	54.4	10.6
Non-South	3.3	13.0	6.8	23.2	4.3
United States	3.9	14.1	14.9	36.4	5.9

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, U.S. Summary, Table 261 and state volumes, Table 209.

TABLE 14

Industry of the Experienced Civilian Labor Force, the United States and the South, 1970

	U. S.	11-State South
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	3.6%	4.6%
Mining	.8	1.2
Construction	6.3	7.7
Manufacturing, durable	**15.8**	**10.8**
Wood products & furniture	1.3	2.2
Other durables	14.5	8.6
Manufacturing, nondurable	**10.6**	**13.5**
Textiles & apparel	2.9	6.2
Other nondurables	7.7	7.3
Transportation, communications & other public utilities	6.8	6.8
Wholesale & retail trade	19.8	19.8
Finance, insurance, & real estate	5.0	4.5
Business & repair services	3.1	2.8
Personal services	**4.5**	**6.1**
Outside household	3.1	3.5
Private household	1.4	2.6
Entertainment & recreation	.9	.7
Professional & related	**17.3**	**15.9**
Health	5.4	4.8
Education	7.9	7.5
Other professional services	4.0	3.6
Public administration	**5.5**	**5.5**
Federal	2.0	2.6
State & local	2.3	2.1
Other, including postal	1.2	.8
Total	100.0%	99.9%
Number, millions	76.8	18.0

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, U.S. Summary, Table 240 and 241 and state volumes, Tables 188 and 189.

TABLE 15

Industry of All and Low Earners in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force by Sex, the South, 1970

	MALES		FEMALES	
	All Earners	Low Earners*	All Earners	Low Earners*
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	6.6%	14.6%	1.4%	2.0%
Mining	1.8	.9	.3	.1
Construction	11.8	12.4	1.0	.7
Manufacturing, durable	13.7	11.1	5.8	4.7
Manufacturing, nondurable	12.4	9.1	15.4	15.4
Transportation, communications and other public utilities	8.7	6.2	3.7	2.5
Wholesale & retail trade	19.5	23.0	20.3	24.1
Finance, insurance & real estate	3.7	2.1	5.8	4.3
Business & repair services	3.5	3.7	1.8	1.7
Personal services	2.4	4.2	12.3	17.7
Entertainment & recreation	.8	1.3	.6	.7
Professional & related services, incl. education	8.8	8.7	27.5	23.9
Public administration	6.3	2.7	4.3	2.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.2%	100.0%
Number, thousands	11,236	3,229	6,777	4,219

*Low earners had less than $4,000 in earnings in 1969. This is the nearest figure in these data to the 1969 poverty line for a family of four; however this table includes all earners not only family heads.

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 210.

TABLE 16

Male Employed Family Heads, All and Black, by Poverty Status, the South: Occupation Distribution and Poverty Rates, 1970

	MALES		
	All	Poor	Poverty Rate %
Professional, technical, & managerial	25.9%	8.0%	2.8
Sales & clerical	13.7	5.6	3.7
Craftsmen	23.8	18.2	6.9
Operatives, except transport	12.9	14.3	10.0
Transport equipment operatives	6.4	9.1	12.8
Laborers, except farm	5.9	15.7	23.8
Farmers & farm managers	3.2	8.6	24.6
Farm laborers & foremen	2.2	11.7	47.6
Service workers	6.1	8.7	12.9
Total	100.1%	99.9%	9.0
Number, thousands	8,842	795	

	BLACK MALES		
	All	Poor	Poverty Rate %
Professional, technical, & managerial	7.2%	2.4%	8.7
Sales & clerical	5.8	2.6	12.0
Craftsmen	16.1	13.1	21.3
Operatives, except transport	18.1	14.8	21.3
Transport equipment operatives	12.1	11.1	24.1
Laborers, except farm	18.9	22.9	31.7
Farmers & Farm managers	2.1	4.7	58.2
Farm laborers & foremen	6.5	16.4	65.3
Service workers	13.3	11.9	23.5
Total	100.1%	99.9%	26.1
Number, thousands	1,194	311	

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 210.

TABLE 17

Poor Employed Male Family Heads: Percentage Occupational Distribution, 1970

	Ala.	Ark.	Fla.	Ga.	La.	Miss.	N.C.	S.C.	Tenn.	Tex.	Va.	11-State South
White Collar	**12.1%**	**13.3%**	**18.9%**	**12.5%**	**13.0%**	**9.7%**	**11.9%**	**11.3%**	**13.2%**	**15.3%**	**14.1%**	**13.6%**
Professional, technical, & managerial	7.2	8.3	10.9	7.3	7.9	6.2	7.1	6.3	7.6	8.8	8.3	8.0
Sales & clerical	4.9	5.0	8.0	5.2	5.1	3.5	4.8	5.0	5.6	6.5	5.8	5.6
Blue Collar	**63.9**	**53.0**	**56.1**	**58.5**	**59.0**	**55.4**	**55.3**	**60.6**	**57.1**	**55.8**	**59.7**	**57.3**
Craftsmen	18.5	16.1	20.7	17.4	17.0	15.9	17.6	19.1	18.0	19.2	18.4	18.2
Operatives	16.7	15.4	9.9	15.0	12.8	14.8	16.3	16.5	16.4	12.9	14.6	14.3
Transport equipment operatives	10.6	8.2	8.5	9.7	10.8	9.4	7.5	8.3	8.6	9.2	9.7	9.1
Laborers, except farm	18.1	13.3	17.0	16.4	18.4	15.3	13.9	16.7	14.1	14.5	17.0	15.7
Farming	**15.7**	**27.2**	**14.4**	**20.5**	**18.3**	**28.0**	**24.9**	**19.5**	**21.1**	**19.3**	**18.0**	**20.3**
Farmers & farm managers	8.0	11.1	3.3	8.4	6.6	9.8	14.1	7.4	12.5	7.1	9.3	8.6
Farm laborers & foremen	7.7	16.1	11.1	12.1	11.7	18.2	10.8	12.1	8.6	12.2	8.7	11.7
Service workers	8.4	6.6	10.6	8.3	9.6	7.0	7.8	8.5	8.6	9.6	8.5	8.7
Total	100.1%	100.1%	100.0%	99.8%	99.9%	100.1%	99.9%	99.9%	100.0%	100.0%	100.3%	99.9%
Number, thousands	65.4	41.5	72.3	70.9	67.1	58.4	81.8	45.7	66.5	175.9	49.9	795.3

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes Table 210.

TABLE 18
Poor Employed Black Male Family Heads: Percentage Occupational Distribution, 1970

	Ala.	Ark.	Fla.	Ga.	La.	Miss.	N.C.	S.C.	Tenn.	Tex.	Va.	11-State South
White Collar	4.8%	4.9%	5.8%	4.8%	5.0%	3.4%	4.5%	4.1%	6.5%	7.0%	5.5%	5.0%
Professional, technical, & managerial	2.3	2.5	3.2	2.4	2.3	1.9	1.9	1.6	2.8	3.3	2.3	2.4
Sales & clerical	2.5	2.4	2.6	2.4	2.7	1.5	2.6	2.5	3.7	3.7	3.2	2.6
Blue Collar	67.7	55.2	61.7	63.1	62.9	56.5	58.2	63.5	60.2	64.7	65.2	61.9
Craftsmen	12.3	10.0	13.7	12.4	13.5	12.2	13.2	15.1	12.6	14.3	13.8	13.1
Operatives	17.7	17.6	9.0	16.1	11.8	15.0	16.4	15.7	16.9	13.1	16.2	14.8
Transport equipment operatives	12.5	8.9	11.7	11.3	12.8	10.2	8.7	9.9	10.3	13.1	11.5	11.1
Laborers, except farm	25.2	18.7	27.3	23.3	24.8	19.1	19.9	22.8	20.4	24.2	23.7	22.9
Farming	15.7	29.5	20.1	20.7	20.2	31.6	25.9	22.0	17.3	12.2	16.6	21.1
Farmers & farm managers	5.5	4.3	1.8	3.3	3.4	6.9	8.5	5.4	5.2	1.9	5.6	4.7
Farm laborers & foremen	10.2	25.2	18.3	17.4	16.8	24.7	17.4	16.6	12.1	10.3	11.0	16.4
Service workers	11.8	10.2	12.4	11.3	11.8	8.4	11.4	10.2	16.1	16.1	12.7	11.9
Total	100.0%	99.8%	100.0%	99.9%	99.9%	99.9%	100.0%	99.8%	100.1%	100.0%	100.0%	99.9%
Number, thousands	30.3	12.8	26.8	35.9	36.5	36.3	35.7	28.1	15.8	33.8	19.4	311.5

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes Table 210.

TABLE 19
Female Employed Family Heads, All and Black, by Poverty Status, the South: Occupation Distribution and Poverty Rates, 1970

	FEMALES				BLACK FEMALES		
	All	Poor	Poverty Rate %		All	Poor	Poverty Rate %
Professional, technical, & managerial	16.1%	5.6%	10.6	Professional, technical, & managerial	8.7%	3.1%	19.3
Sales & clerical	27.2	13.9	15.5	Sales & clerical	7.6	5.3	38.0
Blue collar*	22.0	19.6	27.2	Blue collar*	17.6	16.7	55.2
Farm occupations**	1.6	3.2	60.0	Farm occupations**	4.4	3.5	76.1
Service workers, except private household	20.3	30.3	45.4	Service workers, except private household	30.0	31.1	55.8
Private household workers	12.6	27.4	66.4	Private household workers	31.8	40.3	68.2
Total	99.8%	100.0%	30.5	Total	100.1%	100.0%	53.8
Number, thousands	783	239		Number, thousands	278	149	

*Includes craftsmen; operatives; laborers, except farm.
**Includes farmers, farm managers, farm laborers & farm foremen.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes Table 210.

TABLE 20
Poor Employed Female Family Heads: Percentage Occupational Distribution, 1970

	Ala.	Ark.	Fla.	Ga.	La.	Miss.	N.C.	S.C.	Tenn.	Tex.	Va.	11-State South
Professional, technical & managerial	4.1%	6.1%	5.4%	4.6%	4.8%	7.0%	4.9%	4.5%	6.3%	6.7%	6.6%	5.6%
Sales & clerical	10.8	13.1	17.2	11.9	12.9	8.0	11.5	8.9	13.4	17.8	18.5	13.9
Blue collar*	19.4	23.4	15.3	22.6	11.0	20.4	29.5	22.7	24.9	16.3	21.5	19.6
Farm occupations**	1.8	2.7	7.1	3.3	1.3	2.1	5.4	4.6	1.3	2.0	1.9	3.2
Service workers	64.0	54.6	55.1	57.5	70.1	62.6	48.6	59.3	54.0	57.3	51.4	57.7
Outside household	27.3	31.7	32.5	26.3	33.4	28.0	23.2	25.0	30.0	36.1	30.8	30.3
Private household	36.7	22.9	22.6	31.2	36.7	34.6	25.4	34.3	24.0	21.2	20.6	27.4
Total	100.1%	99.9%	100.1%	99.9%	100.1%	100.1%	99.9%	100.0%	99.9%	100.1%	99.9%	100.0%
Number, thousands	19.6	8.2	33.3	25.8	20.6	15.3	22.1	14.8	16.8	47.6	14.7	238.7

*Includes craftsmen; operatives; laborers, except farm.
**Includes farmers, farm managers, farm laborers & farm foremen.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes Table 210.

TABLE 21

Poor Employed Black Female Family Heads: Percentage Occupational Distribution, 1970

	Ala.	Ark.	Fla.	Ga.	La.	Miss.	N.C.	S.C.	Tenn.	Tex.	Va.	11-State South
Professional, technical, & managerial	2.7%	2.6%	2.1%	2.7%	2.6%	5.7%	3.0%	2.6%	3.5%	3.8%	2.9%	3.1%
Sales & clerical	4.4	4.0	5.9	5.2	5.8	3.6	4.5	3.0	7.1	7.0	6.9	5.3
Blue collar*	15.0	21.3	13.3	19.5	10.7	16.6	24.5	18.4	19.0	12.5	22.5	16.7
Farm occupations**	1.6	1.7	10.2	3.2	1.4	1.9	5.7	5.6	.8	.8	1.9	3.5
Service workers	**76.3**	**70.3**	**68.4**	**69.5**	**79.5**	**72.2**	**62.3**	**70.4**	**69.6**	**75.9**	**65.9**	**71.4**
Outside household	27.7	32.9	33.2	27.6	32.6	29.0	24.9	26.2	31.5	39.4	32.6	31.1
Private households	48.6	37.4	25.2	41.9	46.9	43.2	37.4	44.2	38.1	36.5	33.3	40.3
Total	100.0%	99.9%	99.9%	100.1%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%
Number, thousands	14.1	4.5	20.3	18.6	15.4	12.0	14.1	10.9	9.2	22.0	8.3	149.3

*Includes craftsmen; operatives; laborers, except farm.
**Includes farmers, farm managers, farm laborers & farm foremen.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes Table 210.

TABLE 22

Employed Family Heads by Sex, Residence, and Poverty Status, the South: Occupation Distribution and Poverty Rates, 1970

	MALES					
	URBAN			RURAL		
	All	Poor	Pov. Rate %	All	Poor	Pov. Rate %
Professional, technical, & managerial	30.8%	10.8%	2.3	17.1%	5.6%	4.4
Sales & clerical	16.3	8.3	3.3	9.1	3.4	5.0
Craftsmen	22.7	20.9	5.9	25.8	16.0	8.4
Operatives, except transport	10.9	15.2	8.9	16.3	13.6	11.3
Transport equipment operatives	6.1	10.5	11.1	7.0	8.0	15.5
Laborers, except farm	5.4	17.3	20.8	6.9	14.3	28.0
Farmers & farm managers	.4	1.1	17.4	8.0	15.0	25.3
Farm laborers & foremen	.6	3.4	37.1	5.1	18.6	49.7
Service workers	6.7	12.5	11.9	4.9	5.6	15.5
Total	99.9%	100.0%	6.4	100.2%	100.1%	13.5
Number, thousands	5,651	364	—	3,191	432	—

	FEMALES					
	URBAN			RURAL		
	All	Poor	Pov. Rate %	All	Poor	Pov. Rate %
Professional, technical, & managerial	16.8%	5.7%	10.1	13.8%	5.1%	12.5
Sales & clerical	30.4	15.6	15.1	16.9	9.0	18.7
Blue collar*	19.0	18.1	28.0	32.4	24.1	25.4
Farm occupations**	.6	1.3	68.0	5.2	8.7	57.0
Service workers, except private household	21.1	32.6	45.3	17.7	23.6	45.5
Private household workers	12.1	26.6	64.6	14.1	29.5	71.5
Total	100.0%	99.9%	29.4	100.1%	100.0%	34.1
Number, thousands	603	177	—	181	61	—

*Includes craftsmen; operatives; laborers, except farm.
**Includes farmers, farm managers, farm laborers & farm foremen.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes Table 210.

TABLE 23
Farming Occupations* Employment, 1950, 1960, and 1970 and Percent Decrease 1950 - 1970
(Numbers in thousands)

	1950	1960	1970	1950-1970 Percent Decrease
Alabama	248	97	39	−85
Arkansas	210	77	47	−78
Florida	116	89	77	−33
Georgia	261	113	62	−76
Louisiana	147	62	37	−75
Mississippi	296	137	46	−84
North Carolina	357	198	92	−74
South Carolina	195	92	34	−83
Tennessee	244	126	55	−78
Texas	427	260	164	−62
Virginia	165	95	46	−72
11-State South	2,667	1,345	699	−74
United States	6,706	3,950	2,380	−65

*Farmers, farm managers, farm laborers, and farm foremen.
Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: *1950 General Characteristics*, P - B Series, Table 28; *1960 General Social and Economic Characteristics*, PC(1)-C Series, Table 57; *1970 General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary*, PC(1)-C1, Table 165.

TABLE 24
Poor Employed Family Heads Less Than 65 Years by Race and Sex of Head: Percent Employed Full-time*, 1970

	White Males %	White Females %	Black Males %	Black Females %	Total** %
Alabama	77.5	73.0	78.2	59.2	74.4
Arkansas	74.4	75.3	69..	57.7	71.6
Florida	80.8	70.2	78.4	59.0	74.6
Georgia	79.9	72.2	78.5	61.3	75.1
Louisiana	80.6	70.7	77.5	58.5	74.8
Mississippi	75.6	76.0	72.7	61.5	71.9
North Carolina	77.5	70.8	73.4	56.2	72.7
South Carolina	79.7	72.0	78.0	59.2	74.6
Tennessee	74.5	71.5	77.2	62.8	73.4
Texas	81.0	71.6	78.6	62.2	77.6
Virginia	79.3	68.4	76.7	60.9	75.0
11-State South	78.8	71.5	76.5	60.0	74.7
United States	80.4	63.3	77.1	60.8	75.5

*35 hours or more per week.
**Includes all races.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, U.S. Summary, Table 261 and state volumes, Table 209.

TABLE 25
All Poor Employed Family Heads by Sex and for Blacks by Sex: Percent Employed Full-year*, 1970

	All Males %	All Females %	Total %	Black Males %	Black Females %	Total %
Alabama	57.1	50.1	55.5	58.3	53.2	56.8
Arkansas	51.3	47.9	50.7	44.8	52.2	46.7
Florida	51.0	36.2	46.4	51.7	39.6	46.5
Georgia	62.3	49.1	59.0	62.4	51.9	58.9
Louisiana	56.8	53.4	56.0	55.7	55.8	55.7
Mississippi	51.1	51.7	51.2	49.0	52.6	49.9
North Carolina	57.5	42.9	54.5	56.7	45.0	53.5
South Carolina	62.6	51.0	59.9	62.5	53.6	60.1
Tennessee	53.9	46.1	52.4	55.2	52.3	54.2
Texas	60.2	46.8	57.5	57.3	50.9	54.8
Virginia	60.6	45.2	57.2	60.4	51.2	57.7
11-State South	57.3	46.5	54.9	56.3	50.1	54.4
United States	58.4	40.1	54.4	55.1	46.6	52.1

*50-52 weeks per year.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, U.S. Summary, Table 262 and state volumes, Table 210.

TABLE 26
Poor Family Heads 25-64 Years by Race and Sex of Head: Percentage Distribution of Completed Education, 1970

	No High School	At-tended High School	High School Graduate	College Graduate	Total %	Total No. (000)
Alabama						
White male	46.3	32.6	18.3	2.8	100.0	43
White female	31.7	38.9	27.7	1.8	100.1	13
Black male	60.0	28.5	11.2	.3	100.0	35
Black female	42.3	41.9	15.4	.4	100.0	27
Arkansas						
White male	40.2	37.9	19.6	2.2	99.9	37
White female	28.2	42.2	27.2	2.4	100.0	8
Black male	59.4	31.7	8.6	.2	99.9	16
Black female	43.8	43.5	12.3	.4	100.0	9
Florida						
White male	28.4	35.2	29.9	6.5	100.0	58
White female	15.4	34.4	45.5	4.7	100.0	26
Black male	52.5	33.3	13.6	.6	100.0	30
Black female	34.7	44.8	19.7	.8	100.0	30
Georgia						
White male	46.7	32.2	17.1	3.9	99.9	41
White female	28.9	39.5	28.4	3.1	99.9	16
Black male	68.1	23.8	7.6	.5	100.0	40
Black female	46.6	40.8	12.1	.5	100.0	31
Louisiana						
White male	45.6	28.2	21.9	4.3	100.0	39
White female	29.4	35.5	32.3	2.9	100.1	13
Black male	61.4	28.1	10.0	.5	100.0	45
Black female	43.5	41.7	14.2	.6	100.0	33
Mississippi						
White male	35.2	36.8	24.2	3.7	99.9	27
White female	22.4	39.0	35.6	3.0	100.0	7
Black male	67.0	26.6	6.0	.4	100.0	43
Black female	48.4	41.6	9.7	.3	100.0	23
North Carolina						
White male	48.5	32.6	15.6	3.2	99.9	52
White female	29.8	39.3	28.0	2.8	99.9	18
Black male	61.0	29.0	9.5	.5	100.0	40
Black female	41.3	43.9	14.3	.5	100.0	28
South Carolina						
White male	44.6	31.8	17.7	5.9	100.0	21
White female	27.3	36.8	32.7	3.3	100.1	9
Black male	67.9	25.5	6.4	.2	100.0	32
Black female	54.4	36.5	8.5	.6	100.0	20
Tennessee						
White male	48.4	35.8	13.3	2.5	100.0	64
White female	34.7	39.6	23.8	1.9	100.0	19
Black male	52.3	35.4	11.5	.7	99.9	18
Black female	31.3	50.0	18.1	.5	99.9	17
Texas						
White male	52.0	26.9	17.6	3.5	100.0	151
White female	42.7	29.5	25.1	2.7	100.0	51
Black male	43.4	38.7	17.1	.8	100.0	37
Black female	25.5	49.4	24.2	1.0	100.1	33
Virginia						
White male	52.5	26.9	15.3	5.5	100.0	38
White female	25.0	33.8	35.5	5.7	100.0	17
Black male	63.0	27.7	8.9	.5	100.1	22
Black female	38.6	45.3	15.3	.8	100.0	17
11-State South						
White male	45.8	31.5	18.8	3.8	99.9	574
White female	30.9	35.4	30.5	3.2	100.0	196
Black male	60.1	29.4	10.0	.5	100.0	359
Black female	40.5	43.6	15.4	.6	100.1	267

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 211.

TABLE 27

Poverty Rates for Family Heads 25-64 Years by Race, Sex and Completed Education, 1970

	No High School %	Attended High Sch. %	High Sch. Graduate %	College Graduate %
Alabama				
White male	22.5	9.8	3.9	1.9
White female	48.3	34.9	20.9	9.0
Black male	45.1	32.3	19.9	3.0
Black female	74.3	75.3	62.1	8.9
Arkansas				
White male	28.5	14.5	6.1	2.7
White female	53.9	38.1	23.0	13.9
Black male	53.9	38.9	22.2	2.2
Black female	81.2	75.2	60.3	14.0
Florida				
White male	15.8	7.4	3.6	2.3
White female	41.4	30.5	20.5	12.6
Black male	30.2	24.2	14.4	3.4
Black female	66.2	64.8	54.5	12.8
Georgia				
White male	16.0	6.7	2.9	1.7
White female	36.8	29.0	20.1	11.9
Black male	39.8	24.9	11.5	3.3
Black female	64.3	62.7	45.9	9.7
Louisiana				
White male	20.2	9.3	4.4	2.4
White female	44.8	35.8	23.1	10.8
Black male	46.3	3.1	20.3	4.4
Black female	75.8	75.7	63.2	12.1
Mississippi				
White male	28.2	13.0	5.6	2.8
White female	54.2	38.3	25.1	11.7
Black male	61.4	43.8	25.8	4.8
Black female	84.3	78.3	67.0	10.6
North Carolina				
White male	15.4	6.7	3.2	1.8
White female	35.1	27.7	23.0	11.9
Black male	40.0	26.9	13.4	3.2
Black female	66.8	63.8	51.7	10.0
South Carolina				
White male	14.3	5.9	3.1	2.7
White female	36.0	27.5	26.8	13.7
Black male	44.1	30.8	15.4	1.8
Black female	72.0	67.0	53.1	11.7
Tennessee				
White male	26.6	11.3	3.6	2.1
White female	52.4	34.7	20.6	10.6
Black male	36.9	24.0	12.9	3.8
Black female	66.9	64.8	50.0	11.0
Texas				
White male	25.9	8.2	3.7	1.8
White female	56.1	32.3	20.8	10.8
Black male	29.9	22.3	11.9	3.7
Black female	64.4	63.8	51.9	15.5
Virginia				
White male	14.7	5.5	2.2	1.5
White female	37.2	31.0	22.6	18.2
Black male	28.1	17.3	8.4	2.3
Black female	58.4	61.3	44.9	12.3
11-State South				
White male	20.6	8.4	3.7	2.0
White female	46.3	31.9	21.6	12.2
Black male	40.6	27.4	14.5	3.4
Black female	69.8	67.5	53.8	11.8

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 211.

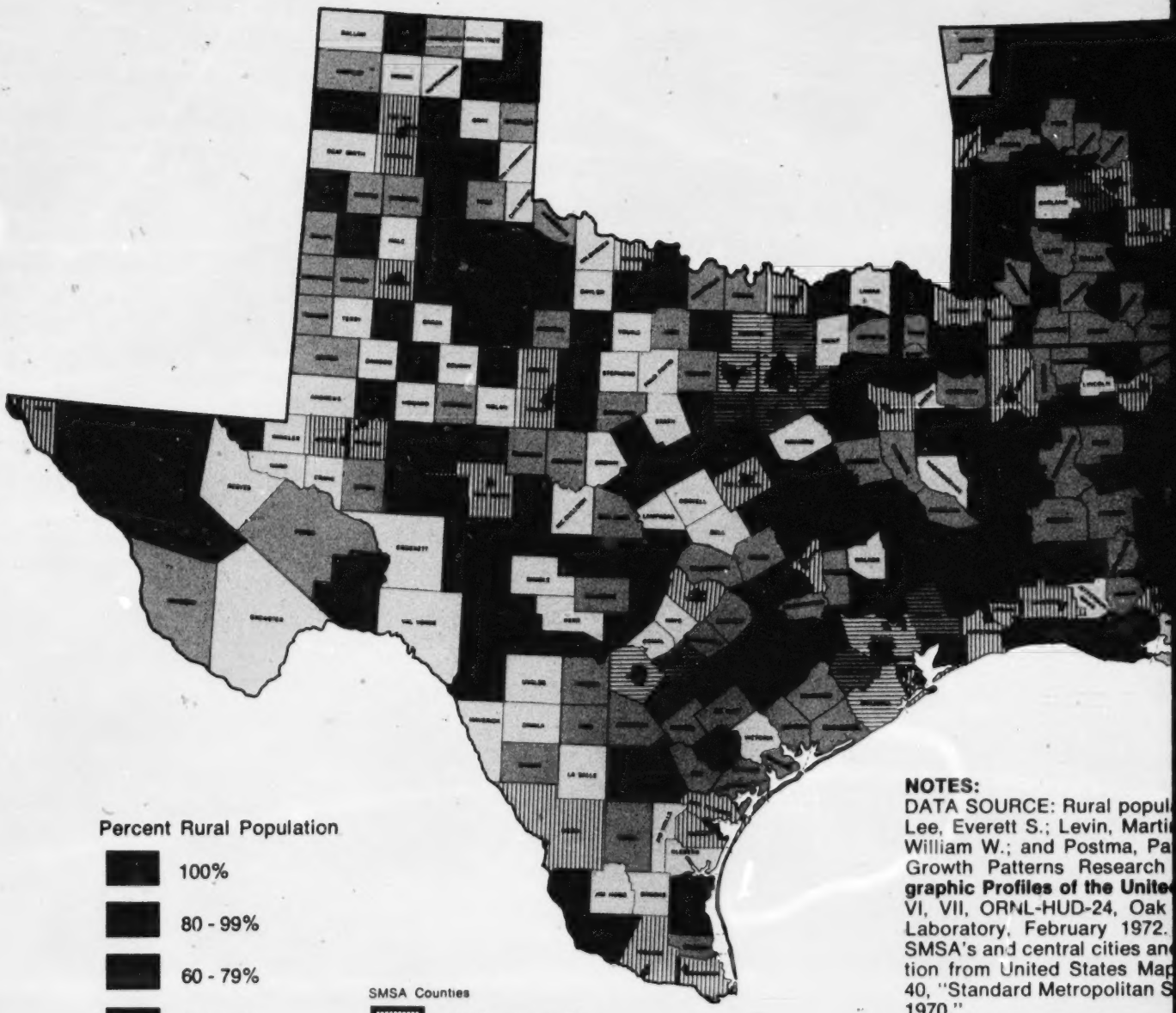
TABLE 28

Poor Family Heads 25-64 Years by Residence: Percentage Distribution of Completed Education, 1970

	No High School	At-tended High School	High School Graduate	College Graduate	Total %	Total No. (000)
Alabama						
Urban	38.0%	38.2	21.6	2.2	100.0%	57
Rural	57.0	30.4	11.9	.7	100.0	62
Arkansas						
Urban	37.0	38.1	22.2	2.7	100.0	26
Rural	47.5	37.5	14.1	.9	100.0	45
Florida						
Urban	29.8	36.7	29.2	4.3	100.0	106
Rural	39.6	36.3	21.8	2.3	100.0	38
Georgia						
Urban	41.9	36.5	18.9	2.8	100.1	66
Rural	61.1	28.4	9.5	1.0	100.0	62
Louisiana						
Urban	41.4	36.2	19.7	2.7	100.0	74
Rural	59.0	27.0	13.1	1.0	100.0	57
Mississippi						
Urban	40.3	37.7	19.1	2.9	100.0	34
Rural	56.4	31.6	11.3	.7	100.0	67
North Carolina						
Urban	36.8	39.1	20.6	3.4	99.9	50
Rural	54.7	32.2	12.1	1.0	100.0	91
South Carolina						
Urban	41.2	36.3	19.0	3.4	99.9	32
Rural	62.1	27.7	8.8	1.3	99.9	51
Tennessee						
Urban	35.3	41.0	20.7	3.1	100.1	54
Rural	51.9	36.2	11.0	.9	100.0	65
Texas						
Urban	43.5	32.1	21.2	3.2	100.0	196
Rural	51.6	30.8	15.9	1.7	100.0	78
Virginia						
Urban	30.1	38.2	26.0	5.7	100.0	45
Rural	62.4	25.9	10.1	1.6	100.0	50
11-State South						
Urban	38.4	36.2	22.1	3.3	100.0	739
Rural	55.2	31.2	12.5	1.2	100.1	665

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 211.

RURAL POPULATION AS PERC
Counties of Eleven Southern



Percent Rural Population

- 100%
- 80 - 99%
- 60 - 79%
- 40 - 59%
- 0 - 39%

SMSA Counties

- SMSA's with 50,000 to 499,999 total population
- SMSA's with 500,000 or more total population
- Approximate extent of central cities (100% urban)

UNITED STATES RURAL POPULATION 27%
ELEVEN-STATE RURAL POPULATION 36%
(Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.)

NOTES:
DATA SOURCE: Rural popul
Lee, Everett S.; Levin, Marti
William W.; and Postma, Pa
Growth Patterns Research
graphic Profiles of the Unite
VI, VII, ORNL-HUD-24, Oak
Laboratory, February 1972.
SMSA's and central cities an
tion from United States Map
40, "Standard Metropolitan S
1970."
RURAL POPULATION: The p
in places smaller than 2,500 p
not part of urbanized areas)

PUBLISHED BY THE

ENT OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1970
States Including SMSA Counties

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tatistical Areas:

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or in the open
country. Persons not living in rural areas are the urban population.

STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS (SMSA'S): An SMSA consists of a county or groups of counties containing at least one city of 50,000 or more plus adjacent counties which are metropolitan in character and socially and economically integrated with the central city.

CENTRAL CITY: The largest city and additional cities, if they meet a population criteria, within the SMSA are central cities.

VIRGINIA: The 29 independent cities not shown on the map have been combined with adjoining counties.

0 100 200 300 MILES

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, JANUARY, 1975

TABLE 29

Poverty Rates for Family Heads 25-64 Years by Residence and Completed Education, 1970

	No High School %	Attended High Sch. %	High Sch. Graduate %	College Graduate %
Alabama				
Urban	30.6	19.4	7.6	2.1
Rural	39.3	20.2	8.6	3.8
Arkansas				
Urban	34.0	18.7	7.1	2.7
Rural	41.5	23.4	11.2	5.0
Florida				
Urban	23.8	13.6	6.4	2.9
Rural	30.6	16.8	8.2	4.0
Georgia				
Urban	26.6	15.6	6.1	2.2
Rural	31.7	14.4	6.1	2.9
Louisiana				
Urban	31.5	21.5	8.4	3.0
Rural	41.7	23.7	10.5	3.9
Mississippi				
Urban	44.2	26.3	8.5	3.3
Rural	56.6	28.3	11.5	4.0
North Carolina				
Urban	21.5	14.0	6.6	2.4
Rural	28.3	14.4	7.0	2.7
South Carolina				
Urban	27.3	15.8	7.3	2.9
Rural	35.2	15.6	6.6	4.1
Tennessee				
Urban	27.2	15.9	6.1	2.5
Rural	35.9	18.4	7.4	3.1
Texas				
Urban	28.3	13.0	6.0	2.1
Rural	36.5	15.7	8.3	4.0
Virginia				
Urban	16.0	11.2	5.1	2.0
Rural	25.3	13.0	5.6	3.0
11-State South				
Urban	27.0	15.1	6.5	2.4
Rural	35.0	17.5	8.0	3.5

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 211.

TABLE 30

Union Membership and as a Percent of Employees In Non-agricultural Establishments, 1970

	Membership in thousands	As Percent of Employees
Alabama	204	20.3
Arkansas	95	17.9
Florida	299	13.9
Georgia	251	16.2
Louisiana	193	18.4
Mississippi	76	13.2
North Carolina	137	7.8
South Carolina	81	9.6
Tennessee	274	20.6
Texas	523	14.4
Virginia	245	16.7
11-State South	2,378	15.0
United States	19,757	27.9

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Directory of National Unions and Employee Associations 1971*, Bulletin 1750, p. 84.

CHAPTER III POOR SOUTHERN FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN

SUMMARY

1. *Forty-one percent of all Southern poor were children compared to 36 percent in the rest of the nation. The poverty incidence for children in the eleven states was one in four.*
2. *Two-thirds of poor white children were living with both parents, but less than half of poor black children were similarly situated since female-headed families were more prevalent among blacks than whites.*
3. *The proportion of Southern poor black families with children in the home was over three-quarters; among whites, it was slightly more than one half.*
4. *White male-headed families with children had lower poverty rates than similarly headed families without children, a situation in direct contrast to that among female-headed families of both races and among black male-headed families. The poverty incidence for both white and black female-headed families increased almost two-fold with the presence of children.*
5. *Poverty incidence among male headed-families with children was nearly twice as high in rural areas as in urban areas. For female-headed families with children the difference by residence was not nearly so dramatic.*
6. *Only six percent of Southern families received public assistance in 1970, slightly over 750,000; the average annual benefit was $875 or one-quarter of the poverty level for a female-headed family of four.*
7. *Only one in seven poor families in the South were raised from poverty by public assistance.*
8. *The total income from public assistance received by families in the eleven state South was $669 million in 1969, 75 percent of which came from the federal government.*
9. *Of poor families with a female head and young children in the home (248,000), over half of the female heads were working in 1970 in the South. Yet the poverty incidence for these families was not substantially different from that for all welfare recipient families—51 percent compared to 55 percent.*
10. *For white female-headed families with young children the poverty incidence for those with an employed head was half that of those without an employed head; for blacks the reduction in poverty rate for working was much less—from 86 percent to 66 percent.*
11. *The income needed to fill the gap between the income of the poor and the poverty line was $4.1 billion before assistance in 1970. Federal and state payments together amounted to only 16.5 percent of this amount.*

Poverty bears particularly heavy on children of the region. Forty-one percent of all Southern poor persons were children compared to 36 percent in the rest of the nation. This amounted to 4.2 million children, 2.3. million black and 1.9 million white, living in poor Southern families. In two Southern states, South Carolina and Mississippi, the proportion of children of the state's poor was as high as 45 percent (Table 31). The poverty incidence for children in the Southern region was one in four—a rate higher than that for all Southern persons.

For the four race/sex family head groups, poor families with children had the same residential patterns as all poor families (Tables 9 and 32). The difference in poverty incidence between urban and rural areas was similar to that for all poor families as discussed in Chapter I. The male-headed family with children was about twice as likely to be poor if living in a rural area, but for the female-headed family with children the difference was much less.

Poverty Incidence for Families With Children by Residence in the South, 1970

Family Head	Urban	Rural	Ratio Rural/ Urban
White male	7%	13%	1.9
White female	35	42	1.2
Black male	27	49	1.8
Black female	68	76	1.1

Source: Table 33.

Family Composition

Most of the poor white children—two-thirds—were living with both of their parents, but less than half of poor black children were similarly situated.

Children Living in Poor Families in the South, 1970	White	Black
With both parents	68%	47%
Without both	32	53
	100%	100%
Total, millions	1.9	2.3

Source: Computed from 4th Count Tapes.

This difference between black and white children is consistent with the fact that among all poor families with children relatively more white than black families were headed by males (*e.g.*, were husband-wife families)—70 percent compared to 55 percent.[1] Still another difference between white and black families was in the proportion of all poor families who had children living in the home. Among blacks the figure was over three-quarters; among whites, slightly more than one half. Differences in the presence of children and differences in the sex of the family head resulted in the family composition below.

Poor Families by Family Composition in the South, 1970	White	Black
With Children	54%	77%
Male head	38	43
Female head	16	35
Without children	46	23
Male head	40	17
Female head	6	6
	100%	100%

Source: Table 34.

Since the family without children was so much less prevalent among blacks than whites the foregoing figures suggest that many poor black adults (elderly and non-elderly) may be living in families where there also are young children rather than in separate families. These data indicate nothing about the presence of other relatives in the family but data from the nationwide Survey of Economic Opportunity about the poor[2] shed some light. Among male-headed poor families only 8 percent of white but 22 percent of black had children and other relatives (in addition to wives) living in the home. Among female-headed families the difference between the races was less but 20 percent of black families compared to 13 percent of white had both children and other relatives in the home. The survey also revealed that in female-headed families with children only 19 percent of white and 28 percent of black had persons other than children in the home.

The OEO family composition data highlight some problems in terms of aiding the poor. Since most poor black families contain children the work potential of mothers is reduced. Thus if mothers are to work, public child care programs must be expanded. Moreover, current public assistance programs are almost exclusively in aid to children. Therefore, *potentially* over three-quarters of black and over half of poor white families could be reached by this program alone if eligibility were liberalized and extended to male-headed families. Most of the male heads were working poor (Chapter II) and their poverty was usually due to low wages and/or underemployment.

Poverty Incidence and Family Composition

As between families with children and those without, the incidence of poverty was higher for those with children in three of the four race/sex groups of family heads. White male-headed families with children had lower poverty rates than similarly headed families without children, a situation in direct contrast to that among female-headed families of both races and among black male-headed families.

Poverty Incidence for Family Types in the South, 1970	White	Black
Male head		
No children	12%	28%
With children	9	35
Female head		
No children	19	40
With children	37	70

Source: Table 34.

The reasons for this can partly be inferred from the family composition and labor market activity of the groups. Male-headed families without children include a large proportion of elderly whose incomes are relatively low. Male-headed families with children are overwhelmingly non-elderly, employed, and have wives present who are potential workers. White male-headed families in this situation have the best chances for high income. The white male can earn more than black men and all women and his chance for job and earnings mobility over his working life is greater. The black male-headed family has less chance for earning as much as his white counterpart; the male is more subject to underemployment, unemployment, a lower-paid job, and less lifetime job mobility. His wife, if she works, cannot expect earnings as high as any of the other groups. More of these black male-headed families also have other relatives in the family to support than do white families

The poverty incidence for both white and black female-headed families increased *nearly two-fold* with the presence of children. Since these families usually have no other adults present, the brunt of the financial responsibility falls on the mother alone. Four out of

[1] Computed from Table 34.
[2] Gladys K. Bowles, A. Lloyd Bacon, and P. Neal Ritchey, *Poverty Dimensions of Rural-to-Urban Migration: A Statistical Report*. Economic Research Service, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1973, Table 9.

ten black female heads *without* children in the home are poor. The comparable families with children are even more subject to poverty—seven out of ten. White female heads *without* children are less often poor than their black counterparts, but one-fifth of them are poor. The employment of all women is largely in occupations and industries which are relatively low wage and therefore not adequate to the task of supporting a family. Many of the "female-type" jobs cannot support one person, much less a family. The continued occupational discrimination against women, and especially black women, is a barrier which must be overcome if poverty among female-headed families is to be substantially reduced.

Working Mothers with Young Children

Too often those who are anxious to reduce welfare rolls stress the potential employability of the family heads. Since most of these families are poor, putting the family head to work is frequently claimed to improve their economic circumstances.

In 1970, of the 395,000 female-headed families with children under six years, nearly six out of ten were working and of the 248,000 poor families, nearly five out of ten.[3] Thus, this group, far from being unemployable, was already substantially employed. Their problem is the inadequacy of the level and duration of the jobs. Perhaps too frequently strict criteria for acceptance for welfare keeps benefits from those who should have them.

Since these data do not distinguish between those mothers who were working and receiving welfare and those who were only working the extent of combinations of work and welfare are not available. As already noted, however, work is no guarantee that one will not be poor. Among all female-headed families with young children, the poverty incidence for those with an employed head was not substantially different from that for all welfare recipients. Over half of these families with an employed head were poor compared to 55 percent[4] of public assistance recipient families. This is also true for whites and blacks — for whites 35 percent of these families with an employed mother were poor compared to 43 percent of all white welfare families; for blacks the comparison was 66 percent for employed and 69 percent for welfare families.[5]

Poverty Incidence for Female-Headed Families With Young Children by Race, in the South, 1970

	White	Black
Working head	35%	66%
Head not working	71	86

Source: Table 35.

For those not in the labor force (which includes welfare recipients as well as those neither receiving welfare nor working) poverty rates were even higher — 71 percent for white female heads and 86 percent for blacks.

Working does not reduce a black working mother's chances of getting out of poverty as much as it does a white's. For working white female heads with young children the chance of being poor is half that of those not in the labor force. For black female heads the difference in poverty rates between those in the labor force and those who are not is only one-third lower. As a matter of fact the black working mother has a poverty rate almost as high as the white non-working mother — 66 percent compared to 71 percent (Table 35).

The high poverty rates for the working mothers of young children suggests an inadequacy in the work incentive features of the AFDC program. The program allows recipients to keep $30.00 from their earnings, work-related expenses, and one-third of the rest of their earnings per month. Since the employment of poor women is practically always in low-wage jobs and industries, especially service type, the "$30.00 plus one-third" does not yield a great amount. This, coupled with an already low grant relative to need, often results in a *sub-poverty* level income. Alteration of the program to allow a higher proportion of earnings to be retained or to provide a sliding scale percentage of earnings to be retained would obviously be a more viable incentive.[6]

Most female-headed families with young children, whatever their labor force status or race were poor.[7] Neither present public assistance programs nor earnings were sufficient to prevent this. If an objective of public policy really is to reduce poverty among female-headed families, more vigorous and better financed income maintenance programs will be needed for a long time. For the truth is, despite pious rhetoric about the work ethic, neither the society nor the economy is changing fast enough to permit economic self-sufficiency for this group in the foreseeable future.

Public Assistance to Families with Children

Most public assistance is for children under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program (other assistance is given the elderly, blind, and disabled). In the discussion of data which follows it was not possible to disaggregate the various programs, but of the total, the aid to children represents the largest part — about 70 percent of the total aid.

Relatively few Southern families — six percent — received public assistance in 1969, or in absolute numbers, slightly over three-quarters of a million. Of this

[3] Computed from 4th Count Tapes.
[4] Table 38.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Other inequities of the program are that the states determine the allowable work related expenses (the South has a history of toughness in interpretations of other features) but more importantly the one-third retention of earnings amounts to a 67 percent tax rate, a rate equivalent to that for other taxpayers earning above $140,000. Sar Levitan, Martin Rein, and David Marwick, *Work and Welfare Go Together*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1972, p. 80.
[7] 4th Count Tapes.

total more were whites than blacks and more were urban dwellers than rural dwellers. The rate of receipt, however, was higher for blacks — 17 percent compared to four percent and for rural families — seven percent compared to five percent (Table 36). It should be remembered, of course, that the poverty rate among black families was 41 percent compared to 12 percent among whites and uniformly higher in rural areas than in urban areas. Thus a minority of the poor receive aid. Of those families who were poor before the receipt of the aid, less than one-third, 31 percent, received public assistance. For poor black families the proportion receiving aid was 37 percent, yet of the main eligible group — female-headed families with children — 70 percent were poor. For poor white families 27 percent received aid yet 37 percent of white female-headed families with children were poor (Table 37).

Of these families who *received aid* more remained poor than were raised out of poverty as a result of the aid. Of all recipient families in the region, 55 percent were still below the poverty line. This proportion for black families was 69 percent, and for whites, 43 percent. The difference between rural and urban families still in poverty was less extreme, 61 percent as compared with 51 percent (Table 38).

The meagerness of benefits guarantees such results. The Southern average annual income received from public assistance in 1969 was $875 per recipient family or *one-quarter* of the poverty level for a female headed family of four. The average benefit for Southern whites was $845, and for blacks $908. The urban average was $878 and the rural, $870 (Table 39).

Of *all of the before-aid-poor* only one in seven were raised out of poverty by public assistance. White families were more often benefited than black families, 15 percent compared with 12 percent; and a higher percentage of urban families than rural, 16 percent compared with 12 percent (Table 40). The relative benefit to whites and urban dwellers was due not to the size of the benefit as shown by the above averages, but rather to the greater reliability of other income sources.

The welfare system of the South, of course, does not even pretend to eliminate poverty. State defined "need levels" are all lower than poverty levels and in most states maximum payments are far lower than need levels.[8]

The Dollars and Cents of Poverty

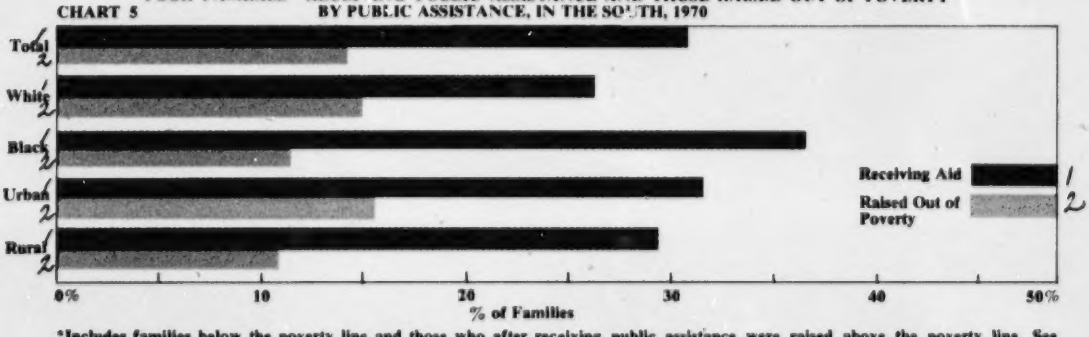
The Southern states pay out of their own revenue relatively small amounts for public assistance. Under matching provisions, the federal government's share is about three-quarters of the total public assistance bill.[9] The federal government's share is greater for low per capita income states; hence it pays a higher share of Southern states' welfare budgets than those of other states. The total income from public assistance received by families in the 11 states was $669 million in 1969. Thus the states, from state revenue sources, paid approximately $167 million and the federal government, the remaining three-quarters. Not unexpectedly among Southern states the federal government paid the highest share in Mississippi and the lowest in Virginia.[10]

The total contribution of public assistance toward relieving family poverty is meager. In the 11 states in 1969 the aggregate income deficit of before-aid-poor families, the income needed to fill the gap between the income of the poor and the poverty line, was $4.1 billion. Federal and states' payments of $669 million amounted to only 16.5 percent of the pre-aid gap. For families, public assistance filled the smallest gap in South Carolina, less than 10 percent of the aggregate need (see Table 41). The states that did the most, in combination with the federal government, (though still very little) were Georgia and Louisiana, where aggregate aid represented one-fifth of the aggregate income need.

The aggregate income deficit after aid for both families *and* for individuals for the South amounted to $4.9 billion in 1969. The total unmet family needs (to get up to the poverty level) were $3.4 billion ($4.1 billion less $669 million from public assistance) and individual needs were $1.5 billion (see Table 42). For the 10.3 million poor Southerners this averages out to a deficit of $476 per poor person.

[8] See Chart in "Report of the Human Resources and Public Services Technical Committee to the Commission on the Future of the South," Southern Regional Council, mimeo, 1974.
[9] The Council of State Governments, *The Book of the States*, 1972-1973, Volume XIX, 1972, p. 384.
[10] *Ibid.*

CHART 5 POOR FAMILIES* RECEIVING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND THOSE RAISED OUT OF POVERTY BY PUBLIC ASSISTANCE, IN THE SOUTH, 1970



*Includes families below the poverty line and those who after receiving public assistance were raised above the poverty line. See Appendix B for definition of public assistance.
Source: Tables 37 and 40.

TABLE 31

Poor Persons by Age and Poverty Incidence for All Persons, 1970
(Numbers in thousands)

	Related Children under 18 years		Persons less than 65 years		Persons 65 years and over		Total poor persons		
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Poverty rate
Alabama	356	41.5	360	42.0	141	16.5	857	100.0	25.4%
Arkansas	202	38.6	213	40.7	108	20.7	523	100.0	27.8
Florida	397	36.5	456	41.9	235	21.6	1,088	100.0	16.4
Georgia	389	42.1	390	42.2	145	15.7	924	100.0	20.7
Louisiana	410	43.9	395	42.3	128	13.7	933	99.9	26.3
Mississippi	344	44.9	305	39.8	118	15.4	767	100.1	35.4
North Carolina	406	40.8	434	43.6	156	15.7	996	100.1	20.3
South Carolina	269	45.2	247	41.5	79	13.3	595	100.0	23.9
Tennessee	321	38.4	358	42.8	157	18.8	836	100.0	21.8
Texas	858	41.9	862	42.1	327	16.0	2,047	100.0	18.8
Virginia	281	40.7	300	43.4	110	15.9	691	100.0	15.5
11-State South	4,233	41.3	4,320	42.1	1,704	16.6	10,257	100.0	21.1
United States	10,359	38.2	11,558	42.6	5,208	19.2	27,125	100.0	13.7

Source: Computed from the U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population; 1970, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, PC(1)-C1, Table 182.

TABLE 32

Families with Children* by Race and Sex of Head: Percent of Poor Living in Urban Areas**, 1970

	White Male %	White Female %	Black Male %	Black Female %
Alabama	33.8	57.9	47.6	67.6
Arkansas	26.4	54.3	42.8	66.2
Florida	66.1	78.9	73.5	84.6
Georgia	37.2	63.2	48.5	72.6
Louisiana	43.5	65.0	52.7	75.8
Mississippi	27.4	47.6	27.8	50.5
North Carolina	27.6	48.1	31.8	57.7
South Carolina	36.2	60.2	28.5	46.9
Tennessee	29.4	54.0	66.1	86.8
Texas	68.2	84.7	71.1	86.3
Virginia	35.2	66.5	40.9	71.1
11-State South	46.1	67.8	47.4	70.7

*Under 18 years living at home.
**The percent living in rural areas is the difference between 100.0% and the percent urban.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 33

Families with Children* by Race and Sex of Head and Residence: Poverty Rates, 1970

	White Male %	White Female %	Black Male %	Black Female %
Alabama				
Urban	5.8	35.2	32.4	74.0
Rural	14.2	45.7	56.2	80.1
Arkansas				
Urban	7.6	38.3	39.7	77.6
Rural	19.1	47.2	59.3	83.6
Florida				
Urban	5.5	30.3	25.7	66.1
Rural	10.4	42.3	42.3	75.3
Georgia				
Urban	4.6	32.2	25.6	63.6
Rural	10.1	37.4	48.2	72.9
Louisiana				
Urban	6.2	35.6	34.0	76.0
Rural	14.1	47.9	57.9	82.3
Mississippi				
Urban	6.6	35.0	40.4	80.2
Rural	14.9	46.3	65.5	84.8
North Carolina				
Urban	5.1	31.8	24.3	64.8
Rural	9.5	35.8	42.0	70.1
South Carolina				
Urban	5.3	38.6	29.2	68.1
Rural	8.4	34.6	45.9	75.9
Tennessee				
Urban	6.4	35.0	26.0	66.2
Rural	17.1	48.0	48.4	74.1
Texas				
Urban	9.0	39.0	21.6	64.2
Rural	16.3	46.0	47.3	78.5
Virginia				
Urban	3.6	34.1	17.4	61.2
Rural	10.9	39.9	34.0	65.0
11-State South				
Urban	6.5	35.2	26.9	68.0
Rural	12.9	42.1	49.4	76.4

*Under 18 years living at home.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 34

Families by Race, Presence of Children, and Sex of Family Head: Distribution of Poor and Poverty Rates, 1970

	WHITE FAMILIES						BLACK FAMILIES					
	With Children		No Children		Total		With Children		No Children		Total	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	%	(000)	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	%	(000)
Alabama												
Poor families	36.9	13.5	43.1	6.6	100.1	94	42.8	33.7	17.2	6.3	100.0	87
Poverty rate	9.5	39.0	15.2	23.6			41.6	75.9	32.2	46.0		
Arkansas												
Poor families	37.8	10.7	47.1	4.4	100.0	77	44.2	28.3	22.8	4.8	100.1	38
Poverty rate	13.7	41.9	19.4	23.4			48.9	79.5	42.3	47.3		
Florida												
Poor families	30.0	17.5	47.1	5.4	100.0	149	38.7	42.8	13.8	4.7	100.0	79
Poverty rate	6.6	32.2	9.1	13.9			28.7	67.3	21.9	33.4		
Georgia												
Poor families	36.1	16.9	40.4	6.6	100.0	94	40.8	36.1	16.9	6.2	100.0	98
Poverty rate	7.0	33.9	11.4	18.3			33.8	65.9	28.1	38.4		
Louisiana												
Poor families	39.8	15.7	38.6	5.9	100.0	81	44.5	34.3	15.8	5.4	100.0	106
Poverty rate	9.1	39.3	13.4	19.6			42.1	77.4	32.2	44.0		
Mississippi												
Poor families	36.5	11.9	45.6	6.0	100.0	60	47.8	27.9	19.5	4.9	100.1	94
Poverty rate	11.1	40.1	18.5	25.5			55.9	82.4	47.5	56.7		
North Carolina												
Poor families	36.3	15.3	41.2	7.2	100.0	117	45.0	33.6	15.5	5.9	100.0	91
Poverty rate	7.6	33.8	12.1	20.6			34.1	66.9	25.5	38.8		
South Carolina												
Poor families	36.1	19.4	37.9	6.6	100.0	49	47.4	32.7	14.5	5.4	100.0	70
Poverty rate	6.9	36.9	10.9	18.3			39.5	72.0	31.3	45.0		
Tennessee												
Poor families	38.5	13.7	41.1	6.8	100.1	136	36.5	37.3	19.7	6.5	100.0	50
Poverty rate	11.4	40.0	16.0	24.6			30.8	67.2	27.4	37.7		
Texas												
Poor families	45.0	17.4	32.8	4.8	100.0	310	38.5	37.1	18.9	5.5	100.0	100
Poverty rate	10.5	40.0	10.6	19.1			25.6	65.9	22.6	34.7		
Virginia												
Poor families	38.0	20.5	34.6	6.9	100.0	88	41.4	36.3	16.1	6.3	100.1	54
Poverty rate	6.4	35.8	8.3	16.9			24.5	62.3	18.5	31.3		
11-State South												
Poor families	38.4	16.0	39.7	5.9	100.0	1,256	42.7	34.7	17.0	5.6	100.0	866
Poverty rate	8.9	37.1	11.9	19.4			35.4	70.3	28.4	40.1		

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 35

Female-Headed Families with Young Children*: Total Number and Poverty Incidence, 1970

	WHITE				BLACK			
	In Labor Force		Not in Force		In Labor Force		Not in Force	
	Tot. No.	% Poor	Tot. No.	% Poor	Tot. No.	% Poor	Tot. No.	% Poor
Alabama	5.9	38.1	4.3	68.2	9.6	76.2	9.2	85.2
Arkansas	3.9	39.8	2.5	72.3	3.4	76.7	3.7	87.6
Florida	16.2	33.0	8.9	65.2	16.6	66.8	8.6	83.4
Georgia	10.4	31.2	5.7	67.2	15.2	63.4	11.2	83.0
Louisiana	6.0	35.1	4.4	71.4	10.7	73.7	12.9	87.9
Mississippi	3.3	38.6	2.4	63.6	8.9	79.8	8.1	88.4
North Carolina	11.0	29.5	6.3	64.8	11.2	60.9	10.2	82.0
South Carolina	5.4	30.6	4.6	75.7	8.0	70.0	7.0	83.7
Tennessee	8.7	35.4	6.5	69.8	7.6	60.5	6.3	84.5
Texas	30.2	39.0	17.6	75.5	18.3	64.3	9.9	83.1
Virginia	9.6	27.6	7.9	72.4	7.3	55.8	7.9	78.6
11-State South	110.7	34.5	71.0	70.5	116.6	66.2	95.1	85.5

*Related children under 6 years.
Source: Computed from 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 36

Families by Race and Residence: Number and Percent Receiving Public Assistance, 1969

(Numbers in thousands)

	Total		White		Black		Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alabama	71	8.1	34	5.0	36	19.6	33	6.4	38	10.5
Arkansas	39	7.7	23	5.3	16	21.6	16	6.3	23	9.0
Florida	86	4.8	49	3.1	37	16.7	68	4.7	18	5.1
Georgia	91	7.9	40	4.5	51	20.7	49	7.1	42	9.1
Louisiana	92	10.6	38	5.9	54	24.2	53	9.1	40	13.4
Mississippi	59	11.1	20	5.2	40	24.8	19	7.8	40	13.8
North Carolina	60	4.6	29	2.7	30	13.1	26	4.6	34	4.7
South Carolina	27	4.3	10	2.2	17	10.9	10	3.3	17	5.2
Tennessee	60	5.9	37	4.2	23	17.5	33	5.6	27	6.3
Texas	142	5.0	102	4.1	40	13.0	101	4.5	41	6.9
Virginia	35	3.0	17	1.8	17	9.6	22	3.0	13	3.0
11-State South	764	6.0	400	3.8	361	17.1	429	5.3	334	7.4
United States	2,719	5.3	1,817	4.0	854	17.6	2,011	5.4	708	5.2

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 37

Families Receiving Public Assistance as a Percent of All Before-Aid-Poor,* by Race and by Residence, 1969

	Total %	White %	Black %	Urban %	Rural %
Alabama	33.7	30.5	37.4	33.0	34.3
Arkansas	29.6	26.2	36.6	31.2	28.6
Florida	31.2	27.0	39.5	32.8	26.4
Georgia	39.3	34.4	44.3	40.8	37.6
Louisiana	40.9	36.9	44.4	41.1	40.7
Mississippi	34.7	28.5	38.9	32.7	35.6
North Carolina	25.2	21.6	30.2	30.1	22.4
South Carolina	20.9	18.5	22.8	20.0	21.5
Tennessee	28.7	24.4	40.1	33.3	24.6
Texas	29.1	27.4	34.4	29.4	28.4
Virginia	21.7	17.5	28.7	28.2	15.6
11-State South	30.9	27.0	36.8	32.5	29.0

*Before-Aid-Poor includes families below the poverty line and those who after receiving public assistance were raised above the poverty line.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 38

Poverty Rates of Families Receiving Public Assistance by Race and by Residence, 1969

	Total %	White %	Black %	Urban %	Rural %
Alabama	58.0	44.4	70.8	54.7	60.8
Arkansas	59.5	51.6	71.1	57.4	60.9
Florida	45.0	31.2	63.7	42.5	54.1
Georgia	55.9	42.6	66.6	53.2	59.2
Louisiana	58.7	42.0	70.6	55.1	63.6
Mississippi	71.5	52.4	80.9	65.4	74.3
North Carolina	55.7	44.4	66.0	52.9	57.9
South Carolina	61.8	42.3	73.5	57.6	64.1
Tennessee	60.4	56.2	67.3	56.9	64.6
Texas	46.3	40.6	60.8	44.3	51.3
Virginia	50.3	37.4	63.2	49.1	52.3
11-State South	55.1	42.9	68.6	50.6	60.9

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 39

For Families, Average Annual Payments from Public Assistance, in Dollars, by Race and by Residence, 1969

	Total	White	Black	Urban	Rural
Alabama	$798	$780	$815	$755	$834
Arkansas	833	857	923	852	905
Florida	823	809	841	826	810
Georgia	899	827	957	895	903
Louisiana	925	872	964	888	976
Mississippi	669	651	677	632	686
North Carolina	921	850	986	972	882
South Carolina	719	704	729	724	716
Tennessee	940	893	1017	967	908
Texas	887	877	913	863	946
Virginia	1179	1040	1316	1289	994
11-State South	875	845	908	878	870
United States	1298	1237	1423	1387	1047

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, U.S. Summary, Table 94 and states, 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 40

Before-Aid-Poor* Families, Number, in Thousands, and Percent Raised Out of Poverty by Public Assistance, 1969

	Total		White		Black		Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alabama	210	14.2	113	17.0	97	10.9	99	15.0	112	13.5
Arkansas	131	12.0	88	12.7	43	10.6	50	13.3	80	11.2
Florida	277	17.2	183	18.6	92	14.4	208	18.8	69	12.1
Georgia	233	17.3	118	19.7	115	14.8	120	19.1	112	15.3
Louisiana	226	16.9	104	21.4	122	13.0	129	18.4	97	14.8
Mississippi	171	9.9	69	13.5	102	7.4	58	11.3	114	9.2
North Carolina	238	11.2	133	12.0	101	10.3	87	14.2	151	9.5
South Carolina	130	8.0	55	10.7	74	6.1	49	8.5	80	7.7
Tennessee	210	11.4	152	10.7	58	13.1	99	14.4	112	8.7
Texas	489	15.6	371	16.3	116	13.5	344	16.4	145	13.8
Virginia	160	10.8	99	11.0	61	10.5	77	14.4	83	7.4
11-State South	2,475	13.9	1,484	15.4	980	11.6	1,320	16.1	1,155	11.3

*Before-Aid-Poor includes families below the poverty line and those who after receiving public assistance were raised above the poverty line.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 41

For Families, Pre- and Post-Aid Aggregate Income Deficits and Public Assistance in Millions of Dollars, and Public Assistance as Percent of Pre-Aid Income Deficit, 1969

	Pre-Aid Income Deficit	Public Assistance	Post-Aid Income Deficit	Public Assistance as % Pre-Aid Deficit
Alabama	$352	$ 57	$295	16.2%
Arkansas	203	34	169	16.7
Florida	413	71	342	17.2
Georgia	383	82	301	21.4
Louisiana	414	86	328	20.8
Mississippi	313	40	273	12.8
North Carolina	378	55	323	14.6
South Carolina	227	20	207	8.8
Tennessee	333	57	276	17.1
Texas	775	126	649	16.3
Virginia	262	41	221	15.6
11-State South	4,033	669	3,385	16.5

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 42

Aggregate Income Deficits After Aid, in Millions of Dollars, for Families and Unrelated Individuals Below the Poverty Line, 1969

	Families	Unrelated Individuals	Total
Alabama	$295	$109	$404
Arkansas	169	70	239
Florida	342	226	568
Georgia	301	133	434
Louisiana	328	122	450
Mississippi	273	82	355
North Carolina	323	141	464
South Carolina	207	71	278
Tennessee	276	119	395
Texas	649	310	959
Virginia	221	118	339
11-State South	3,385	1,500	4,885

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

Chapter IV The Elderly Poor in the South

SUMMARY

1. *One-quarter of white families headed by an elderly person were poor and over half of similar black families. Of the elderly unattached to families, 50 percent of whites and 70 percent of blacks were poor. Thus while the South has less of an elderly poor population relative to other age groups, the poverty rates for the elderly are especially high.*
2. *A higher proportion of the aged population lived in rural areas than was true of the population as a whole. This is so because rural out-migration has been much more pronounced among younger people. Of poor families headed by an older person six out of ten white, compared to five out of ten black, lived in rural areas. On the other hand, the poor elderly person unattached to a family is much more likely to be an urban resident than is an elderly family head. Of elderly poor white individuals living outside the family, six out of ten were urban residents, and of blacks, two out of three.*
3. *Seventy-two percent of the South's aged received Social Security payments compared to 76 percent nationwide in 1969. In the South 75 percent of elderly whites were on Social Security; 64 percent of elderly blacks. A major reason for the difference between the races is that elderly blacks were so heavily concentrated in jobs that only over the past two decades have come under the Social Security Act — domestic work and farm labor.*
4. *Florida is the only Southern state that had a higher proportion of elderly receiving Social Security than the national average, a fact that can probably be credited to that state's unique position as a haven for retired, mostly non-poor whites from outside the South. Elderly blacks in Florida, for example, do not fare nearly so well. They receive benefits lower than the regional average.*
5. *Not only do fewer of the South's elderly persons receive benefits, but the average benefit is lower than the nation's since Southerners on the average have earned less.*
6. *Over one-third of Southern Social Security recipients remained poor. Black recipients were especially impoverished in Mississippi, Arkansas, and South Carolina where at least two-thirds were poor.*
7. *Nine percent of the white elderly and 23 percent of the black elderly in the South were poor and yet did not receive Social Security benefits. However, improvement in this situation should come if Supplemental Security Income programs are properly implemented.*

Elderly[1] poor persons make up a smaller proportion of the South's poor than of the non-South's poor. Data in Chapter I show that of the South's poor, 17 percent are elderly and of the non-South's poor, 22 percent. The percentage of elderly poor living in families is about the same for the South and the non-South (8-9 percent), but the South has relatively fewer of elderly unattached to families.

Within the South there were differences between the races in terms of family attachment of the poor elderly. More whites than blacks, relatively, were unattached to families.

Poor Elderly Persons and Family Attachment in the South, 1970

	White	Black
Not in families	47%	40%
In families	53	60
	100%	100%
Total, thousands	1,213	488

Source: U. S. Bureau of tre Census, Census of Population: 1970, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, PC(1)-C Series, Computed from Table 58 for each of the eleven Southern states.

Since relatively fewer of Southern elderly poor live alone and even fewer blacks they are less physically isolated than in other regions. This has an advantage in that the day-to-day needs, especially related to health, can be

Age of Poor Family Heads and Unrelated Individuals by Race in the South, 1970

	White	Black
Family heads		
Less than 65 years	70%	79%
65 years or more	30	21
	100%	100%
Total, thousands	1,256	866
Unrelated Individuals		
Less than 65 years	47%	56%
65 years or more	53	44
	100%	100%
Total, thousands	1,082	441

Source: Computed from 4th Count Tapes.

[1]Persons 65 years or older.

monitored by the other family members. This kind of care is left to the occasional social worker or other agency person for those elderly who are unattached to families and frequently living in isolation.

While the elderly black poor are less likely to live in isolation, there is yet a greater problem among blacks—that they live less long than whites. The shorter life span of blacks is reflected in distributions of the poor population by age. Equally relevant to these data which show a greater proportion of white elderly than black elderly among the poor, is that for the most part whites do not experience poverty until reaching old age. Blacks have higher susceptibility to poverty at all ages, but the difference in poverty incidence between the non-elderly and the elderly is not as great as for whites, since so many blacks have been poor throughout their lifetime.

Poverty Rates for Families by Race and Age of Head in the South, 1970

	White	Black
Less than 65 years	10%	39%
65 years or more	25	55
Ratio for less than 65 to 65 or more	2.5	1.4

Source: Computed from 4th Count Tapes.

One-quarter of white families headed by an elderly person were poor and over half of similar black families (Table 43), The poverty incidence among those elderly unattached to families was even more severe (Table 44). Half of white and over seven out of ten black elderly unrelated individuals were poor. So while the South has less of an elderly poor population relative to other age groups among the poor the poverty rates for the elderly are especially high. Compared to the non-South the Southern poverty rates for families headed by an elderly person were twice as high (see Chapter I, page 5).

Residence of the Elderly Poor

The residence of the elderly poor population varies from that of the total elderly population and the total poor population. Among the aged population, both poor and non-poor, a higher proportion lived in rural areas than the total (elderly and non-elderly) population — 41 percent compared to 36 percent. Since rural outmigration has been more pronounced among the non-elderly, a relatively older population has been left behind. Also, as shown previously, poor families are more likely to be rural residents than the total population.

Previously it was shown that relatively more whites than blacks were rural residents. This was also true among the elderly. Of poor families headed by an older person nearly six out of ten white compared to five out of ten black lived in rural areas (Table 45).

Poor elderly persons unattached to a family are much more likely to be urban residents than elderly family heads. Of elderly poor whites unattached to families, over six out of ten were urban residents and of blacks, two out of three. This group also had higher proportions in smaller urban places 2,500-49,999 population.

The white elderly were more likely to be rural residents than the black. However, the black had higher incidence of poverty than the white in all residential places.

Poverty Rates for Families with Head 65 Years or Older by Race and Residence in the South, 1970

	White	Black
Central cities	16%	43%
Urban fringe	12	45
Places 10,000-49,999	22	52
Places 2,500-9,999	25	57
Rural	36	64

Source: Table 47.

As the preceding breakdown shows, in rural areas about two out of three black elderly families were poor compared to over one-third of whites. In the central cities, (the place where elderly black poverty rates were lowest) 43 percent of blacks and 16 percent of whites were poor—a nearly three-fold difference. The white rates varied more by place of residence than the black rates.

The poverty rates for elderly not living in families were the most severe of all groups (Table 49). The white poverty incidence for rural residents was seven out of ten and for urbanized areas nearly five out of ten. The corresponding comparisons for blacks were 87 percent in rural areas and 78 percent in urbanized areas. In general, the white elderly had greater variation in their poverty incidence depending on residence than did the black, both for those elderly living in families and those not.

The data regarding the residential patterns of the elderly have implications for outreach activity, implications that could be lost unless elderly families and unrelated individuals are considered separately. Public and private programs for the elderly living in families need to have strong *rural* directions. Programs specifically designed to reach the elderly who live alone need a strong urban focus. The enrollment of the elderly onto SSI (Supplemental Security Income) needs especially strong outreach into rural areas. A special regional commitment to aiding the *rural black elderly* is needed since poverty incidence was as high as seven out of ten families headed by an elderly person in Mississippi and about nine out of ten elderly unattached to families in Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Arkansas, Georgia, and Louisiana.

General economic development of rural areas offer-

ing a wider range of better paying jobs obviously will help the elderly who live in families with working age adults, while the elderly who live alone will be little benefitted. Increasing the income of the latter group must to a greater extent depend on improvements in public programs—the increase of benefits and/or extension of coverage for both SSI and Social Security.

The Elderly and Social Security

The primary source of income for those 65 years or older is Social Security. As with most comparisons, the South is poorer than the United States in terms of Social Security payments[2]. A slightly smaller proportion of the South's aged persons (72 percent) than the nation's aged (76 percent) received payments. Somewhat fewer Southerners of both races benefitted than their counterparts in the nation.

More importantly, however, many fewer blacks than whites, both in the South and the nation, received benefits. Whereas three-quarters of elderly whites were recipients, less than two-thirds of blacks were.

Percent of Aged Persons Receiving Social Security Payments, 1970

	U.S.	South
Total	76%	72%
Whites	77	75
Blacks	65	64

Source: Table 48.

Since receipt of Social Security payments is dependent upon the person's having had "covered employment," those whose working years were spent in employment excluded from the system do not benefit. Most employment is *now* included under Social Security or in a federal government retirement system, but many of today's elderly persons spent their working years in employment that was not covered at the time. The lower rates of receipt for blacks can partly be explained by their occupations. As we have seen, a high percentage of black women have been employed in domestic service which came under the Social Security system only in 1955. Even so, their participation, though required by law, depends on the cooperation of their household employer who as an individual can more easily ignore the law than a business. Similarly the past concentration of black males in farming occupations would partially account for their low rate of receipt. Social Security was extended to agricultural labor in 1951 and to farm self-employment in 1955.

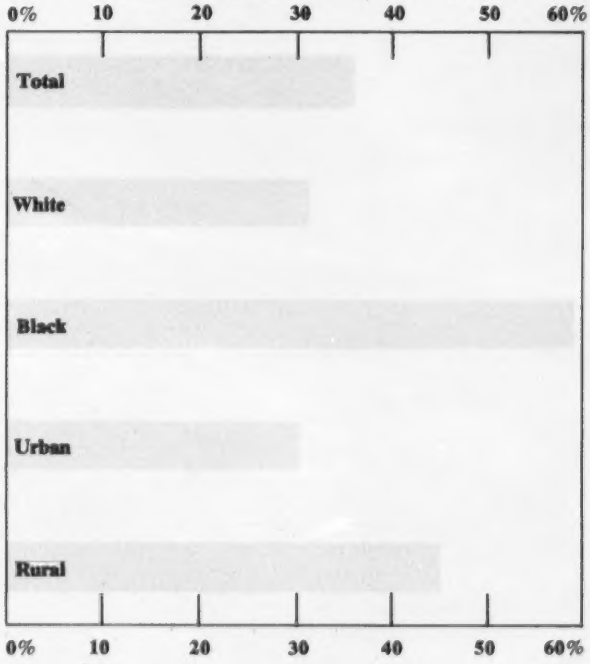
In addition to having employment in "covered" sectors, a worker must have accumulated forty quarters (i.e., ten years) in "covered" work to receive the full benefit; otherwise, a reduced benefit is paid. Workers employed in the marginal sectors of the economy, such as day laborers, by-the-day domestics, or those working for small employers who, in an effort to save costs, however illegally, did not deduct and pay Social Security contributions, are likely to be excluded from the benefits of the system in their old age. Blacks are most affected by these factors.

Only one Southern state had a higher proportion of all elderly receiving Social Security benefits than the national average—Florida (Table 48). This can doubtless be credited to Florida's unique position as a haven for retired, mostly non-poor whites from outside the South. Elderly blacks in Florida do not fare nearly so well—their percentage receiving benefits was lower than the regional average.

Not only do fewer of the South's elderly receive benefits, but the average benefit is lower than the nation's (Table 50). Since the benefit is determined by the earnings on which contributions were paid, lower-paid Southern workers face a lower retirement income than their national counterparts. The U. S. average benefit for retired workers in 1969 was $1205 compared with the Southern average of $1080; yet the individual maximum benefit permitted under the Act in 1969 was $2616 and for a family was $5213[3] Thus the actual nationwide average benefit was 46 percent of the maximum for an individual and the South's, 41 percent.

CHART 6

POVERTY INCIDENCE: SOCIAL SECURITY RECIPIENTS 65 YEARS OR OLDER IN THE SOUTH, 1970



Source: Table 51.

The lower benefits in the South resulted in a higher poverty incidence among the aged recipients in the South—over one-third—compared to the nation, over one-quarter. The South's higher rate of poverty among

[2]The term, Social Security, as used here also includes railroad retirement.
[3]*Social Security Bulletin*, Annual Statistical Supplement, 1971, pp. 19 and 133.

elderly Social Security recipients was more acute for blacks and, secondarily, for rural residents. Well over half (59 percent) of recipient blacks in the South and nearly half (45 percent) of recipient rural residents were poor. Almost one-third of whites and urban dwellers were similarly affected.

All Southern states, except Florida, had higher poverty rates among elderly Social Security beneficiaries than the national average. Black recipients were especially impoverished in Mississippi, Arkansas, and South Carolina where at least two-thirds were poor. Among the rural beneficiaries the proportions of poor were particularly high in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Arkansas (Table 51).

Social Security and Sex Discrimination

The Social Security beneficiary and benefit data from the Census did not include any information according to sex, but the following data from the Social Security Administration are suggestive of regional patterns. The individual recipient, whether a retired worker or surviving spouse, fares worse than a retired male worker and spouse in terms of approaching a non-poverty level income.

Annual Average Social Security Benefit* Compared with Poverty Lines, 1969, the United States, 1969

	Average Benefit	Relevant Poverty Line	Benefit as % of Pov. Line
Retired male worker	$1308	$1773	73.8%
Retired female worker	1028	1751	58.7
Retired male worker and wife	2027	2217	91.4
Surviving aged widow	1054	1751	60.2

*Monthly average times 12. Source: *Social Security Bulletin*, Annual Statistical Supplement, 1971, p. 48.

The data for the South, if available, would no doubt show lower annual average benefits, since average wages in the region are lower. The relative magnitude of the relationships would probably be the same. The retired female worker receives, in her own right as a retired earner, the lowest benefit. On the average, this is lower than that received by a survivor widow on the basis of her marital status. Both groups of women, in any case, are living on less income than a retired male. The law, however, has been most favorable to the retired worker and spouse in terms of a non-poverty income. And the law does discriminate with respect to working couples — the benefit for husband-wife couples who were both earners is *not* twice that for a single beneficiary. Furthermore, the benefit for a male retiree and non-earner wife may be greater than that for husband and wife earners.[4]

The Elderly and Other Income Services

A few especially fortunate among the elderly also have private pensions but most have no income other than Social Security. In 1970 only about one in four newly entitled Social Security beneficiaries also were receiving a private pension.[5] Most of these people constituted the group of elderly who were not poor. On the other hand, there is a substantial group—in the South 16 percent of all aged—who did not receive Social Security and were not poor. They were either supported by other family members such as their children, had continuing income from earnings or other non-earned income (securities, rents, etc.), or received pensions but no Social Security (probably not a large group). The poor who received Social Security amounted to nearly one-fourth of white Southern aged, but nearly 40 percent of poor aged blacks.

Poverty Status and Receipt of Social Security Among the Aged in the South, 1970

	White	Black
Not poor, received social security	51%	26%
Not poor, no social security	17	13
Poor, received social security	23	38
Poor, no social security	9	23
	100%	100%

Source: Tables 53 and 54.

The group that did not receive Social Security and was poor amounted to nearly 9 percent of the white elderly and one-quarter of black elderly. Many of this group would have received Old Age Assistance (OAA), though many elderly with no chance of receiving any kind of retirement continued to work well into their years. Table 52 shows the proportion of the aged who received OAA in the Southern states and the average benefit. In general, the percentage of the state's elderly receiving OAA has an inverse relationship to that state's Social Security recipient rate and a direct relationship to its poverty rate for the elderly. Louisiana had the highest rate of OAA recipients, followed by Alabama and Mississippi. Florida and Virginia had low percentages of elderly on OAA; their Social Security benefits are relatively high, and their elderly poverty rates, relatively low. The average monthly payments, even in the states with less poverty among the elderly were quite low, ranging from $45 per month to $73.

The extreme poverty experienced by over one-third of Southern elderly may be alleviated by the new federal program, Supplemental Security Income (SSI) which replaced OAA on January 1, 1974. However, it is critical that eligibles be enrolled. This program guarantees a minimum income floor for the elderly. This

[4]The reader who is interested in the sex discrimination aspects of Social Security is referred to *Economic Problems of Women*, Hearings Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, Part 2, 1973.
[5]Lenore E. Bixby and Virginia Reno, "Second Pensions Among Newly Entitled Workers," *Social Security Bulletin*, Nov. 1971.

monthly minimum was as of July 1, 1974, $146 for an elderly individual and $219 for an elderly couple.[6] Considering that the *average* Social Security benefits in the South (1969) were below this, as were average OAA payments, this program could undoubtedly be a boon to the region. The minimum benefits under SSI are still below the current poverty lines, but for many elderly poor this will represent a considerable improvement.

States which could potentially gain the most under SSI are those with low proportions of the elderly on Social Security — Louisiana, and to a lesser extent Mississippi and Georgia; those with low average Social Security benefits—Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and North Carolina; and those with low average OAA benefits—Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia. However, none of these benefits will accrue automatically. Only a vigorous effort to enroll the eligible population will ensure that the intent of the law is carried out.

The annual maximum benefits under SSI are below the poverty line by a small amount for couples but more for individuals. Thus, raising them to the poverty levels would be relatively cheap compared to the total cost of the program. The annual maximum for an elderly individual is $1752 compared to a 1973 poverty level of $2119 and for a couple is $2628 compared to a 1973 poverty level of $2662.

An automatic cost-of-living clause, similar to the Social Security improvements in 1972, is needed for SSI to adequately take inflation rates into account. However, states should assist their elderly poor by supplementing SSI.

[6] *Federal Register*, June 26, 1974, p. 23054.

TABLE 43

Families with Heads 65 Years or Older by Race: Number of Poor Families and Poverty Rates, 1970
(Numbers in thousands)

	WHITE		BLACK		TOTAL	
	No. of Poor	Poverty Rate	No. of Poor	Poverty Rate	No. of Poor*	Poverty Rate
Alabama	30	32.6%	20	55.9%	50	39.0%
Arkansas	25	34.6	11	61.7	36	39.7
Florida	53	14.7	12	49.0	65	17.0
Georgia	29	28.5	19	55.7	48	35.4
Louisiana	22	27.8	20	56.5	42	36.6
Mississippi	20	37.3	23	69.8	43	49.5
North Carolina	36	28.6	17	51.3	54	33.5
South Carolina	14	27.9	14	61.5	28	38.3
Tennessee	43	34.1	11	50.7	54	36.5
Texas	76	23.7	21	48.5	97	26.7
Virginia	24	21.8	11	42.5	35	25.7
11-State South	372	25.0	178	54.7	551	30.3

*The total includes members of other races (Orientals, Indians, etc.) hence may be greater than the sum of whites and blacks.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 44

Unrelated Individuals 65 Years or Older by Race: Number of Poor and Poverty Rates, 1970
(Numbers in thousands)

	WHITE		BLACK		TOTAL	
	No. of Poor	Poverty Rate	No. of Poor	Poverty Rate	No. of Poor*	Poverty Rate
Alabama	38	65.7%	20	85.5%	59	71.5%
Arkansas	35	68.3	11	86.2	47	71.9
Florida	102	45.3	18	78.4	121	48.5
Georgia	42	60.8	22	83.8	64	67.0
Louisiana	36	61.6	23	83.0	60	68.4
Mississippi	24	67.9	19	89.1	43	76.0
North Carolina	49	61.5	15	79.7	64	65.1
South Carolina	21	60.7	12	86.7	33	68.2
Tennessee	51	65.3	13	80.0	64	67.8
Texas	134	56.3	29	80.8	164	59.5
Virginia	37	51.2	13	76.9	50	56.0
11-State South	570	56.9	196	82.6	768	61.9

*The total includes members of other races (Orientals, Indians, etc.) hence may be greater than the sum of whites and blacks.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 45

Families with Head 65 Years or Older by Race and Residence: Distribution of Poor, 1970

	URBAN				RURAL	TOTAL	
	Central Cities	Urban Fringe	10,000-49,999	2,500-9,999		%	No. (000)
Alabama							
White	9.9%	5.3	7.2	10.6	67.0%	100.0%	30
Black	21.2	10.3	8.8	8.4	51.3	100.0	20
Arkansas							
White	6.8	0.8	10.3	12.4	69.7	100.0	25
Black	15.6	1.4	16.4	16.0	50.5	99.9	11
Florida							
White	22.7	26.0	8.9	13.8	28.6	100.0	53
Black	35.2	11.0	14.5	10.9	28.4	100.0	12
Georgia							
White	11.2	6.0	6.8	10.0	66.0	100.0	29
Black	24.9	3.2	12.0	13.0	47.0	100.1	19
Louisiana							
White	16.9	6.7	8.0	10.6	57.9	100.1	22
Black	28.0	4.6	9.7	12.7	44.9	99.9	20
Mississippi							
White	4.0	0.9	10.0	8.8	76.2	99.9	20
Black	4.0	0.7	15.6	10.9	68.7	99.9	23
North Carolina							
White	7.7	1.8	8.4	7.2	75.0	100.1	36
Black	17.1	0.8	12.2	8.9	61.0	100.0	17
South Carolina							
White	4.7	7.0	9.4	10.3	68.7	100.1	14
Black	7.8	3.3	9.0	11.5	68.4	100.0	14
Tennessee							
White	11.8	1.2	9.0	9.6	68.5	100.1	43
Black	48.7	1.5	8.9	9.7	31.1	99.9	11
Texas							
White	28.8	4.3	9.7	14.4	42.9	100.1	76
Black	37.6	2.5	10.5	11.9	37.6	100.1	21
Virginia							
White	10.0	7.0	5.8	5.7	71.5	100.0	24
Black	27.4	6.5	4.2	4.6	57.4	100.1	11
11-State South							
White	15.3	7.0	8.6	11.0	58.0	99.9	372
Black	23.3	4.0	11.2	10.9	50.6	100.0	178

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 46

Unrelated Individuals 65 Years or Older by Race and Residence: Distribution of Poor, 1970

	Urbanized Area	Other Urban	Rural	Total %	Total No. (000)
Alabama					
White	28.5%	25.2	46.3	100.0%	38
Black	42.3	23.2	34.4	99.9	20
Arkansas					
White	15.2	35.3	49.6	100.1	35
Black	21.3	37.9	40.8	100.0	11
Florida					
White	62.6	20.4	17.1	100.1	102
Black	51.1	28.4	20.4	99.9	18
Georgia					
White	29.2	27.6	43.3	100.1	42
Black	41.0	30.2	28.9	100.1	22
Louisiana					
White	39.4	23.1	37.6	100.1	36
Black	43.8	24.6	31.7	100.1	23
Mississippi					
White	9.8	32.7	57.6	100.1	24
Black	7.3	40.4	52.3	100.0	19
North Carolina					
White	18.3	24.7	57.0	100.0	49
Black	30.2	29.9	39.9	100.0	15
South Carolina					
White	21.0	28.6	50.4	100.0	21
Black	17.8	33.5	48.7	100.0	12
Tennessee					
White	27.2	27.9	44.9	100.0	51
Black	62.8	19.5	17.7	100.0	12
Texas					
White	43.6	27.6	28.9	100.1	134
Black	49.6	25.6	24.8	100.0	29
Virginia					
White	34.4	16.8	48.9	100.1	37
Black	52.5	10.8	36.8	100.1	13
11-State South					
White	36.4	25.7	38.0	100.1	570
Black	39.2	27.6	33.3	100.1	196

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 47

Families with Heads 65 Years or Older by Race and Residence: Poverty Rates, 1970

	URBAN				RURAL	TOTAL
	Central Cities %	Urban Fringe %	10,000-49,999 %	2,500-9,999 %	%	%
Alabama						
White	15.6	18.9	25.3	30.7	43.9	32.6
Black	43.5	48.1	52.0	55.0	67.0	55.9
Arkansas						
White	18.3	23.4	25.2	31.2	41.5	34.6
Black	53.3	50.3	61.7	60.8	65.6	61.7
Florida						
White	14.2	10.6	14.5	17.6	21.6	14.7
Black	44.4	38.6	49.0	52.6	60.1	48.7
Georgia						
White	16.7	14.1	21.5	27.8	38.0	28.5
Black	43.8	47.4	53.5	57.4	66.2	55.7
Louisiana						
White	14.7	18.5	25.3	29.9	41.1	27.8
Black	45.1	47.2	57.2	60.5	66.8	56.5
Mississippi						
White	18.1	21.8	22.9	28.8	45.5	37.3
Black	49.2	50.7	58.9	67.5	75.5	69.8
N. Carolina						
White	14.0	21.9	20.5	22.7	35.0	28.6
Black	39.7	34.3	45.8	50.9	57.8	51.3
S. Carolina						
White	13.6	19.4	21.1	21.2	35.1	27.9
Black	53.6	45.8	51.6	53.9	67.1	61.5
Tennessee						
White	16.2	18.9	28.1	33.2	44.6	34.1
Black	45.7	63.1	45.9	53.5	61.4	50.7
Texas						
White	17.6	14.3	23.4	27.8	31.7	23.7
Black	39.0	43.3	48.7	55.1	61.3	48.5
Virginia						
White	10.4	8.8	18.8	19.2	32.2	21.8
Black	33.9	40.9	34.7	39.9	49.8	42.5
11-State South						
White	15.6	12.2	21.5	25.1	36.0	25.0
Black	42.6	44.6	52.1	56.5	64.4	54.6

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 48

Social Security Recipients 65 Years or Older by Race and Residence: Number and as Percent of All Persons 65 Years or Older, 1970

(Numbers in thousands)

	Total		White		Black		Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alabama	221	70.1	166	72.5	54	63.8	128	73.1	93	66.5
Arkansas	165	72.7	138	74.5	27	64.6	80	73.0	86	72.4
Florida	755	78.0	711	79.1	43	63.6	623	78.1	132	77.3
Georgia	243	68.9	191	72.0	52	59.4	143	69.9	100	67.5
Louisiana	183	61.7	133	64.3	49	55.6	124	64.6	59	56.4
Mississippi	147	67.8	98	71.4	48	61.5	61	68.8	86	67.0
North Carolina	305	76.3	249	77.9	55	70.0	133	75.8	172	76.6
South Carolina	131	71.2	99	74.7	33	62.2	61	70.7	70	71.6
Tennessee	273	73.3	235	74.6	37	66.4	153	73.1	120	73.6
Texas	673	71.5	600	72.4	71	64.6	481	71.7	191	71.0
Virginia	266	75.6	221	76.3	46	72.7	146	74.0	120	77.7
11-State South	3,362	72.7	2,842	74.6	514	63.7	2,132	73.4	1,230	71.5
United States	14,582	75.9	13,372	77.0	993	64.7	10,580	75.9	3,969	76.0

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 49

Unrelated Individuals 65 Years or Older by Race and Residence: Poverty Rates, 1970

	Urbanized Area %	Other Urban %	Rural %	Total %
Alabama				
White	52.1	66.0	78.1	65.7
Black	81.1	87.8	90.0	85.5
Arkansas				
White	56.4	65.8	75.2	68.3
Black	81.4	86.0	89.1	86.2
Florida				
White	43.3	45.5	54.5	45.3
Black	76.4	79.8	81.7	78.4
Georgia				
White	47.2	63.3	73.1	60.8
Black	79.3	85.6	88.8	83.8
Louisiana				
White	50.6	64.8	76.8	61.6
Black	77.9	85.9	88.5	83.0
Mississippi				
White	53.2	59.6	77.7	67.9
Black	80.0	87.4	92.0	89.1
North Carolina				
White	47.1	58.4	70.1	61.5
Black	74.6	80.4	83.4	79.7
South Carolina				
White	51.3	55.1	70.3	60.7
Black	81.4	85.4	89.9	86.7
Tennessee				
White	51.6	66.4	76.8	65.3
Black	78.6	80.4	84.9	80.0
Texas				
White	48.6	62.2	66.2	56.3
Black	76.7	85.0	85.8	80.8
Virginia				
White	38.3	50.9	67.2	51.2
Black	74.1	82.3	79.6	76.9
11-State South				
White	46.7	58.9	70.2	56.9
Black	77.7	84.6	87.3	82.6

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 50

Average Annual Social Security Benefits for Persons 65 Years or Older and as Percent of United States Average and Maximum Permitted, 1969

	Average benefit*	Percent of U.S. Avg. %	Percent of maximum** %
Alabama	$1033	86	39
Arkansas	992	82	38
Florida	1214	101	46
Georgia	1022	85	39
Louisiana	1058	88	40
Mississippi	924	77	35
North Carolina	1036	86	40
South Carolina	1026	85	39
Tennessee	1019	85	39
Texas	1085	90	41
Virginia	1093	91	42
11-State South	1080	90	41
United States	1205	100	46

*Derived by multiplying average monthly benefit by 12. Source: *Social Security Bulletin*, Annual Statistical Supplement, 1971, p. 133.
**Maximum benefit permitted for an individual in 1969: $2616, *Ibid*, p. 3.

TABLE 51

Social Security Recipients 65 Years or Older by Race and Residence: Poverty Rates, 1970

	Total %	White %	Black %	Urban %	Rural %
Alabama	43.1	37.9	59.0	37.2	51.2
Arkansas	45.9	42.1	65.5	42.5	49.1
Florida	22.9	20.8	56.9	21.6	28.9
Georgia	40.2	34.7	60.5	35.6	46.7
Louisiana	40.3	33.7	58.3	35.9	49.5
Mississippi	53.0	43.6	72.2	44.8	58.8
North Carolina	38.9	35.1	55.8	33.0	43.6
South Carolina	42.7	35.1	65.5	36.2	48.4
Tennessee	42.0	39.7	56.6	36.3	49.2
Texas	34.2	31.7	55.7	31.6	40.9
Virginia	32.1	28.3	50.5	24.6	41.1
11-State South	35.6	31.4	59.2	30.4	44.7
United States	26.8	25.4	48.8	23.9	34.9

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

TABLE 52

Old Age Assistance Recipients: Number, in Thousands, and as a Percent of All Persons 65 Years or Older, and Average Monthly Payments, 1969

	RECIPIENTS		Monthly Payments*
	No.	%	
Alabama	115	36.6	$ 66
Arkansas	61	26.9	57
Florida	70	7.2	49
Georgia	92	26.1	51
Louisiana	120	40.5	69
Mississippi	74	34.1	45
North Carolina	39	9.8	73
South Carolina	19	10.3	50
Tennessee	52	14.0	50
Texas	233	24.8	64
Virginia	12	3.4	63
11-State South	887	19.0	59
United States	2,076	10.9	74

*Compared to poverty lines for a nonfarm male 65 years and over living alone, $1,974 or $165, monthly; a female, $1,826 or $153 monthly.
Source: Recipients and payments, U. S. Social and Rehabilitation Service as quoted in U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Pocket Data Book, USA 1971*, p. 191.

CHAPTER V
FAMILY INCOME AND THE POVERTY LINE

SUMMARY

1. *Two-thirds of Southern white families had income at least twice that of poverty level income, yet three-quarters of black families had incomes less than twice the poverty line.*
2. *823,000 families in the region had incomes less than 50 percent of the poverty line. This figure represented four percent of all white Southern families and 17 percent of all black Southern families. Female-headed families of both races were disproportionally represented among this group.*
3. *About half of all poor families headed by females and one third of poor families headed by males live on less than 50 percent of the poverty level.*
4. *The figure of 823,000 families does not fully reflect the impact of this extreme poverty. Over 3.25 million family members lived in these families and of these 1.7 million were black and 1.6 million, white. Added to this were 772,000 poor unrelated individuals who lived at income below half the poverty line (243,000 black and 525,000 white). This meant that a total of 4,115,000 persons — 40 percent of the South's poor, were living on less than 50 percent of the poverty level income.*
5. *The Bureau of Labor Statistics' urban family budgets may be a more realistic approach to setting living standards than current poverty level guidelines. Three living standards are defined by the Bureau — low, moderate and higher — and are figured for a hypothetical urban family of four with a male head aged 38 and a wife who is not employed. The three living standards are defined by a mix of goods and services necessary for the specified level. Under the BLS budget in 1969, $6,544 was set for the lower level, $10,064 for the moderate, and $14,571 for the higher. The poverty line, however, for a comparable family was only $3,745.*
6. *Over two-thirds of white families in the South comparable to the BLS prototype family were above the moderate standard, but only one quarter of black families.*
7. *Applying ratios of the BLS standards and the poverty level to the income of all families indicates that as many as three-quarters of white, but only about one-third of black families lived in moderate or better circumstances in 1969.*

The bulk of this report has, by necessity, concentrated on the extent of poverty in the South and the characteristics of the poor population. Unintentionally, this has tended to imply that those above the poverty line are not in economic peril. The term "near-poor", used to describe those whose incomes are no more than 125 percent of the poverty line income, is recognition of their precarious status. Advancing above the poverty line takes only one dollar and those who are relatively close to the poverty standard are indeed little better off than the "official" poor. To reach even relatively comfortable economic circumstances one must advance considerably beyond the poverty line.

The interruption of earnings due to loss of a job, layoff, sickness, or other reasons; the loss of a secondary earner; the addition of new family members, a child born or an elderly person joining the family, are all events which can easily throw a near-poor family into the poor classification. Those whose incomes are above those of the near-poor, too, are not free from the possibility of falling into poverty. Accordingly, it is essential to analyze the distribution of families around the poverty line. In addition, the parsimony of the poverty index, requires a look at those above the poverty line.

Family Income and the Poverty Line

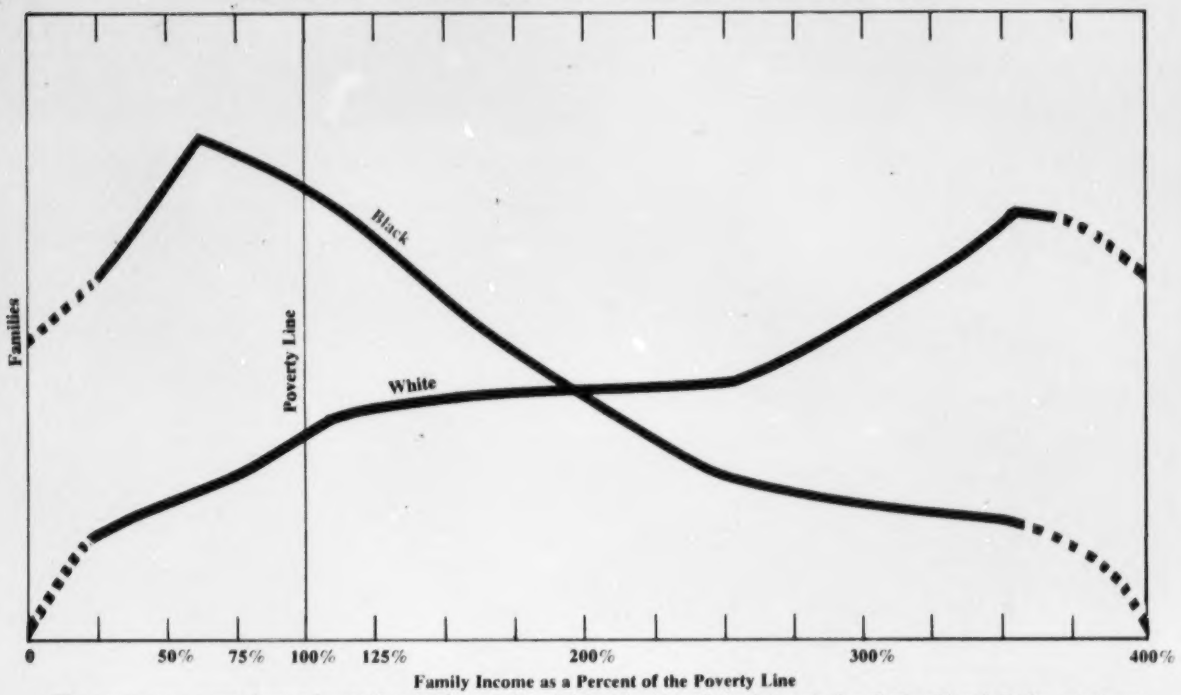
The method of analyzing family income compared with the poverty income is by expressing family income as a percent of poverty line income.

If family income is equivalent to income at the poverty line, the relationship is expressed as 100 percent; if double the poverty income, 200 percent; and if half, 50 percent; and so on. Hence the 17 percent of all Southern families below the poverty line had income of less than 100 percent of the poverty line. Seven percent of Southern families were 50 percent below the poverty line. About one-quarter of Southern families were above the poverty line but less than 200 percent of it; a slightly smaller proportion fell in the interval between 200 and 300 percent of the poverty line; and over one-third were above the 300 percent mark.

Data for the two races showed vastly different patterns. White families were highly clustered above 200

CHART 7

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY INCOME AND RACE IN THE SOUTH, 1970



The curves were approximated by plotting the frequencies at the mid-points of the intervals. See Tables 53 and 54 for exact percentages of families falling into various intervals The final interval, 300% to 400%, is open ended, but here is shown with 400% as the upper boundary, for graphic convenience.

percent and black families below that point. *Two-thirds of Southern white families had income at least twice that of poverty line income, yet three-quarters of black families had incomes less than twice poverty line income.*

The curve for black families is heavily weighted toward the low end. It peaks at the interval 50 to 75 percent of the poverty level, and remains high up to the point of income 125 percent of the poverty line. The curve then tapers off markedly. In contrast, the curve for white families begins low, rises steadily to the point 125 percent, and then remains constant up to the point 300 percent of the poverty line. A substantial proportion of white families are found above this point. The black and white curves cross at 200 percent of the poverty line, blacks having higher frequencies below that point and whites higher frequencies above it (see Tables 53 and 54 for state details).

Higher income families, on the average, had smaller families, and lower income ones, larger families. Thus 65 percent of white families, but only 62 percent of white family members, were above 200 percent of the poverty line. Similarly, 26 percent of black families, but only 20 percent of black family members were above 200 percent of the poverty line. Below the poverty line were 41 percent of black families, but 45 percent of black family members.

Family Income as a Percent of Poverty Line Income
for Families and Family Members by Race in the South, 1970

Family income as a percent of poverty line	Whites		Blacks	
	Families	Family Members	Families	Family Members
Less than 100%	12.0%	12.5%	41.1%	45.2%
100 to 199%	22.7	25.2	33.1	34.1
200 to 299%	23.9	25.2	15.0	12.9
300% or more	41.4	37.1	10.8	7.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Tables 53 and 54.

A comparison of white and black family members shows the same preponderance of blacks at the bottom as whites at the top. Over 60 percent of whites were above 200 percent, but only 20 percent of blacks. A great many poor families were so far below the poverty line as to merit special examination.

Below 50% of the Poverty Line

Four percent of *all* white Southern families and 17 percent of all black Southern families had incomes lower in 1969 than 50 percent of the poverty line. This poorest group of the region amounted to 823,000 families. Following are some examples by family size of the maximum income, in 1969, a family could receive and still fall below 50 percent of the line: $2,209 for a male-headed family of five persons or $442 per family member; $1,863 for a female-headed family of four persons or $466 per family member; and $1,197 for a male-headed family of two or $599 per family member. These incomes generated little purchasing power. The data on these families included breakdowns by race and sex though not by age, but many of the families doubtless were headed by the aged since, as we have seen, incomes of the elderly were notoriously inadequate.

Families Below 50 Percent of the Poverty Line and All Poor Families by Race and Sex of Head, in the South, 1970

	Families Below 50% of the pov. line		All poor families
	%	No. (000)	%
White* male	38%	316	46%
White* female	17	140	13
Black male	22	177	24
Black female	23	190	17
Total	100%	823	100%

*Includes "other" races which are 0.4 percent of all poor in the region.
Source: Table 55.

Blacks were disproportionally represented in this group (incomes below 50 percent of the poverty line) —45 percent compared with 41 percent of all poor families (and 17 percent of the South's families). Female-headed families were even more prevalent among the group—40 percent compared with 30 percent among all poor and 12 percent of the South's families. Both black and white female-headed families were disproportionally represented among the very poorest.

Of poor female-headed families about half of both white and black had incomes below 50 percent of a poverty line income. Of poor male-headed families fewer, about one-third, of both white and black had similarly low incomes.

Percent of Poor Families with Income Below 50 Percent of Poverty Line Income, in the South, 1970

White* male	32%
White* female	50
Black male	34
Black female	54

*Includes "Other" races.
Source: Table 55

The count of the number of families, 823,000, does not fully reflect the impact of this extreme poverty, for over three and one-third million people lived in these families. Of these, 1.7 million were black and 1.6 million, white.

Again the average larger size of black families resulted in their comprising a greater share of poorest family members than of poorest families. The number of unrelated individuals who were below half the poverty line was 772,000—243,000 black and 525,000 white. *Thus a staggering total of 4,115,000 persons, 40 percent of the South's poor, were living on less than half of the poverty level income.* This amounted to 43 percent of all poor blacks and 38 percent of poor whites.

It must be recognized that many of these poorest people were children. To a great extent, poor families headed by females have related children in the home, and to a greater extent than male-headed families. Since female-headed families were over-represented among the very poor, children also were. At the earliest stages of life when nutrition is critical, the income available for food from an income less than half of the poverty level is never enough. And the economy food plan, used as the basis for the poverty line, is already nutritionally inadequate. In practice, these poorest families would have to spend income on food that would normally go for other things.

An Alternative to the Poverty Classification

A completely different approach to setting living standards is the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) urban family budgets.[1] These budgets are figured for hypothetical urban families of four persons with a male head aged 38 and a wife who is not employed. Three living standards—low, moderate, and higher—are defined by a mix of goods and services necessary for the specified level.

The costs of the goods and services are determined, and the total budget is calculated. The low budget level assumes that the family is a renter, performs many of its own services, uses free recreation, and either uses public transportation or has bought a six-year-old automobile. The moderate level includes a mix of homeowners and renters, and nearly all families have an automobile purchased when it was two years old.

[1]U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Three Standards of of Living*, Bulletin No. 1570-5, 1967.

Higher budget families have higher levels of home-ownership than the moderate level; automobile ownership is universal though second-hand purchases are made by a substantial segment; and the family has a major medical policy (all levels include hospital-surgical plans). Both the moderate and higher budgets include increasingly higher expenses for services, appliances, and automobiles. The at-home food budgets for the three levels are the Department of Agriculture's lower, moderate, and higher standards. All provide adequate nutrition. The percentage of meals away from home increases with each level. For the same period as the poverty data (1969) these three budgets were priced at: $6,544 for the lower level; $10,064, the moderate; and $14,571, the higher.[2] The poverty line for a comparable family, a nonfarm family of four with a male head, was $3,745.

Southern families' incomes can be compared to the BLS budgeted amounts to determine their adequacy with respect to low, moderate, and higher standards of living. Thus, the families above poverty can be more accurately differentiated.

The number of Southern families which exactly met the criteria of the hypothetical four-person family was over 600,000 in 1970. The income[3] of these families was compared to the BLS standards. Over two-thirds of white families were above the moderate standard, but only one-quarter of blacks.

Urban, Male-Headed 4-person Families Income Compared With BLS Standards by Race in the South, 1969

	White	Black
Below low standard	10%	42%
Low to moderate	22	33
Moderate to high	38	18
Above high	30	7
Total	100%	100%

Source: Tables 56 and 57.

In order to use the BLS living standards as benchmarks for gauging all families' incomes they were converted to percents of the poverty line, following the procedure used for all families' income (Chart 7 and Tables 53 and 54). The income standards are expressed as a ratio of the applicable poverty line for the hypothetical urban family ($3,745).

BLS Income Standards as a Percent of the Poverty Line for 4-person Urban Family, 1969

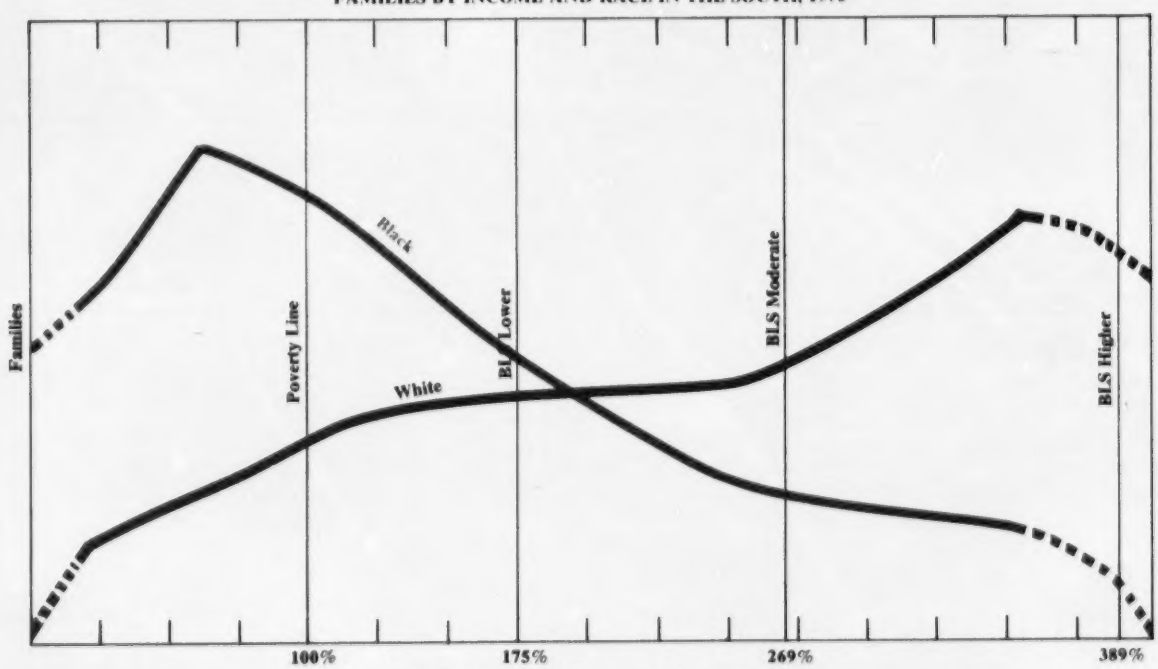
		BLS as % of Pov. Line ($3745)
Low	$ 6,544	175
Moderate	10,064	269
Higher	14,571	389

[2]U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Three Budgets for an Urban Family of Four Persons*, 1969-70, Supplement to Bulletin 1570-5, 1972, p. 16. The 1973 levels for the three budgets are low, $8,181; moderate, $12,623; and high, $18,201 according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

[3]Income in the Census was reported in intervals so the nearest interval was compared to the BLS standard: $6,500 for $6,544; $10,000 for $10,064; and $15,000 for $14,571.

CHART 8

COMPARISON OF BLS BUDGETS TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY INCOME AND RACE IN THE SOUTH, 1970



Family Income as a Percent of the Poverty Line

The BLS Budgets expressed as a percent of the poverty line were superimposed on Chart 7.

Therefore, about 200 percent of the poverty line would represent a low standard of living; less than 300 percent of the poverty line, a moderate standard; and close to 400 percent of the poverty line, a higher standard. While it would be inappropriate to ascribe these ratios strictly to all family types other than the BLS prototype, it is not inappropriate to use them as general guideline for income adequacy.

Chart 8 compares the ratios for low, moderate, and high standards with the data in Chart 7. Slightly over one-quarter of white families fell below the low standard of living mark, about one-quarter between the low and moderate standards, and nearly one-half above the moderate standard. Two-thirds of black families fell below the low standard of living, less than one-fifth between the low and moderate standards, and less than 15 percent above the high level. *While close to three-quarters of white families lived in moderate or better circumstances, only somewhat over one-third of blacks were so fortunate.* Clearly, not only is poverty a severe problem among the black population, but having an equitable share of income among those who are above poverty levels is equally as severe a problem.

The data in this chapter highlights the primary conclusion of previous chapters that in the South blacks are poorer than whites by any standard. In this chapter we have seen that blacks cluster below 200 percent of the poverty line and whites, above. Two-thirds of blacks live *below* "moderate" economic circumstances and three-quarters of whites, *above*. The agenda for the South's future, while necessarily concerned with white and black poverty, cannot ignore the continuing disparity in incomes between blacks and whites which has pushed blacks to the bottom and pulled whites to the top. The differences in economic position are so dramatically different that an immediate regional commitment to erasing them is essential. It is not enough to wait for the gradual equalizing effects of natural economic improvement. Our two societies cannot become one until we take affirmative action against the racial inequality in all institutions and aspects of Southern life.

TABLE 53
Percentage Distribution of White Families by Ratio of Families' Income to Poverty Line, 1970

	Less than .50	.50–.74	.75–.99	1.00–1.24	1.25–1.99	2.00–2.99	3.00 & over	Total %	Total No. (000)
Alabama	5.0%	3.9	4.9	5.5	18.9	24.4	37.5	100.1%	688
Arkansas	5.7	5.2	6.9	7.4	21.9	23.7	29.2	100.0	432
Florida	3.4	2.5	3.5	4.6	17.2	23.8	44.9	99.9	1,588
Georgia	3.6	3.1	3.8	4.5	16.5	24.2	44.3	100.0	902
Louisiana	4.9	3.4	4.4	5.2	18.1	24.9	39.1	100.0	647
Mississippi	5.6	4.9	5.4	6.1	20.4	24.6	32.9	99.9	374
North Carolina	3.9	3.4	4.0	5.0	18.4	25.5	40.0	100.2	1,049
South Carolina	4.1	2.8	3.6	4.9	17.9	26.4	40.3	100.0	472
Tennessee	5.5	4.8	5.1	5.8	18.9	23.8	36.2	100.1	892
Texas	4.4	3.5	4.5	5.2	16.8	22.8	42.8	100.0	2,501
Virginia	3.4	2.5	3.1	4.0	15.3	23.0	48.7	100.0	977
11-State South	4.3	3.4	4.3	5.1	17.6	23.9	41.4	100.0	10,521

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 207.

TABLE 54
Percentage Distribution of Black Families by Ratio of Families' Income to Poverty Line, 1970

	Less than .50	.50–.74	.75–.99	1.00–1.24	1.25–1.99	2.00–2.99	3.00 & over	Total %	Total No. (000)
Alabama	20.8%	13.5	12.5	10.9	21.3	12.3	8.6	99.9%	186
Arkansas	22.8	15.8	14.4	12.1	19.5	9.9	5.6	100.1	72
Florida	14.7	10.7	10.9	10.8	24.4	16.8	11.5	99.8	218
Georgia	15.8	12.4	11.7	10.7	22.6	15.2	11.7	100.1	246
Louisiana	21.9	13.0	12.6	10.8	20.3	12.4	9.0	100.0	224
Mississippi	27.9	18.0	13.5	10.4	17.4	8.0	4.8	100.0	159
North Carolina	15.5	11.9	11.5	10.7	23.6	15.9	10.8	99.9	234
South Carolina	20.3	12.6	12.2	11.1	22.4	13.7	7.8	100.1	156
Tennessee	15.2	11.9	11.0	10.2	23.0	16.5	12.2	100.0	132
Texas	12.8	9.5	10.4	10.2	24.2	18.3	14.4	99.8	307
Virginia	10.9	9.5	9.6	10.0	24.4	19.3	16.3	100.0	181
11-State South	17.3	12.2	11.6	10.6	22.4	15.0	10.8	99.9	2,114

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 207.

TABLE 55
Poor Families with Income Less than Half the Poverty Level* by Race and Sex of Head: Number, in Thousands, and as Percent of All Poor, 1970

	White Males		White Females		Black Males		Black Females		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alabama	25	33.0	9	49.7	18	34.6	21	59.4	73	40.3
Arkansas	19	29.2	6	47.8	9	35.6	7	58.0	41	35.6
Florida	36	31.1	18	52.0	13	30.5	19	51.5	86	37.5
Georgia	22	30.5	11	48.4	18	32.0	21	49.9	72	37.2
Louisiana	23	35.4	9	51.3	24	36.8	25	60.3	81	42.9
Mississippi	16	32.8	5	47.2	25	39.4	19	62.6	66	42.5
North Carolina	30	31.9	13	45.9	19	33.5	18	49.6	79	37.1
South Carolina	12	32.7	7	56.3	16	35.8	16	60.1	51	42.4
Tennessee	36	33.1	13	47.1	9	32.5	11	49.6	69	37.1
Texas	76	31.0	36	51.9	18	30.8	21	50.4	151	36.5
Virginia	21	32.2	13	54.0	9	29.5	11	45.7	54	37.5
11-State South	316	31.9	140	50.4	177	34.1	190	54.2	823	38.4

*Half the poverty level for a nonfarm family of four: with a male head, $1873; with a female head, $1862.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 207.

TABLE 56
Percentage Distribution of Income* of Urban Families with a Male Head 35-44 Years, Wife Not in the Labor Force, and Children Under 18 Years at Home, 1969

	Less than $6500	$6500-9999	$10,000-14,999	$15,000 & over	Total %	Total No. (000)
Alabama	13.4%	22.8	37.7	26.1	100.0%	35
Arkansas	15.1	27.3	38.2	19.3	99.9	17
Florida	12.1	21.9	37.0	29.1	100.1	88
Georgia	17.5	23.7	29.5	29.3	100.0	55
Louisiana	20.6	27.7	31.1	20.6	100.0	56
Mississippi	17.7	24.8	38.3	19.2	100.0	18
N. Carolina	11.1	24.1	40.5	24.3	100.0	46
S. Carolina	13.0	25.2	39.4	22.3	99.9	24
Tennessee	20.3	27.8	29.3	22.6	100.0	48
Texas	10.8	21.2	37.9	30.2	100.1	156
Virginia	12.4	23.0	30.9	33.7	100.0	73
11-State South	14.0	23.6	35.2	27.3	100.1	616

*Income intervals chosen to approximate the 1969 BLS standards of living—low, $6544; moderate, $10,064; and high, $14,571.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state voulmes, Table 198.

TABLE 57
Percentage Distribution of Income* of Urban Black Families with a Male Head 35-44 Years, Wife Not in the Labor Force, and Children Under 18 Years at Home, 1969

	Less than $6500	$6500-9999	$10,000-14,999	$15,000 & over	Total %	Total No. (000)
Alabama	35.0%	33.2	24.2	7.7	100.1%	7
Arkansas	43.5	34.1	18.8	3.6	100.0	2
Florida	58.0	31.0	8.6	2.3	99.9	8
Georgia	28.5	32.7	27.1	11.8	100.1	12
Louisiana	35.6	29.7	23.7	11.1	100.1	10
Mississippi	42.9	34.4	18.3	4.4	100.0	4
N. Carolina	28.5	36.1	25.6	9.8	100.0	9
S. Carolina	66.0	27.0	5.8	1.1	99.9	2
Tennessee	60.9	27.3	8.8	3.0	100.0	4
Texas	49.6	34.7	12.4	3.3	100.0	15
Virginia	47.6	34.3	14.6	3.6	100.1	6
11-State South	42.4	32.8	18.3	6.5	100.0	80

*Income intervals chosen to approximate the 1969 BLS standards of living—low, $6544; moderate, $10,064; and high, $14,571.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state voulmes, Table 198.

APPENDIX A

The Spanish-American Poor Population in Florida and Texas: A Special Note[1]

The Spanish-American poor populations of Florida and Texas were the only ones in the South statistically large enough to make examination meaningful. In Texas there were over 700,000 and in Florida, nearly 70,000. Not only were there over ten times as many Spanish-Americans in Texas as in Florida, but their poverty rate was over twice as high—36 percent compared to 15 percent. The composition of the poor population in Texas was predominantly children (54 percent) and adults less than 65 years (40 percent) with the elderly, over 65 years, very few (6 percent). In Florida adults less than 65 years comprised 48 percent of the poor, a much higher proportion than among all poor persons in the 11-state South (42 percent); children, 39 percent; and the elderly, 13 percent, more than in Texas.

The number of poor Spanish-American families in Florida was 15,000 and their poverty rate was 14 percent; in Texas, 133,000 and a poverty rate of 31 percent. The poverty rate of Florida Spanish-American families was higher than the Florida white family rate (10 percent). The Texas Spanish-American poverty rate was well above the state white rate and virtually the same as the black family poverty rate (33 percent).

Female-headed families comprised a smaller proportion of poor Spanish-American families in both states, 23 percent, compared to the regional average for all families, 29 percent. Their poverty rates were severe—in Florida, 33 percent, which was above the rate for white female heads in Florida (25 percent); in Texas, 57 percent, which was nearly as high as the Texas black female-head poverty rate, 59 percent.

In terms of residence all Spanish-American families in Florida and Texas were more urbanized (central cities and urban fringe together) than the total families —in Florida 89 percent compared to 61 percent and in Texas, 66 percent compared to 61 percent. The poor Spanish-Americans, however, were less urbanized — 85 percent in Florida and 54 percent in Texas. In Florida a much smaller proportion of poor, only seven percent, were rural residents than of poor whites or blacks. In Texas approximately the same share of poor Spanish-Americans, 23 percent, as poor blacks lived in rural areas.

For male family heads the working poor percentages for Spanish-Americans in both states, 78 percent in Florida and 80 percent in Texas, exceeded those for poor whites and blacks in the same states. For poor female heads in Florida the proportion of working poor, 48 percent, was higher than for whites and much lower than for blacks. In Texas the percent of working poor among female heads was lower than for both whites and blacks.

In terms of education the poor Spanish-Americans in Florida were better educated than those in Texas. In Florida, of family heads 25-64 years, 25 percent of males and 34 percent of females completed high school or more education. They compared unfavorably to poor whites and somewhat more favorably to poor blacks in Florida. In Texas, however, only 9 percent of males and 8 percent of female heads completed high school—much lower completion rates than for either whites or blacks.

Fewer of all Spanish-American families in Florida than Texas were in the poorest classification—income less than 50 percent the poverty line—five percent compared to 11 percent. However, on the other hand, these poorest families as a proportion of Spanish-American poor families was less in Texas (36 percent) than in Florida (41 percent).

[1]See Appendix B for definition of Spanish-American. Data from 4th Count Tapes, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, and *Detailed Characteristics*.

APPENDIX B

Definitions

Family Concepts

Family: Two or more persons living in the same household who are related by marriage, blood or adoption.

Unrelated Individual: A person living in a household alone or with one or more persons to whom unrelated, or living in group quarters. All poverty data on unrelated individuals exclude inmates of institutions, members of the Armed Forces living in barracks, college students living in dormitories (including fraternities and sororities), and unrelated individuals under 14 years old.

Race and Related Concepts

Race: In the 1970 Census persons were asked to indicate their race by selecting White, Negro or Black, Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Korean, Other (specify).

- Black: In this report, includes persons who indicated their race as "Negro" or "Black" in the Census.
- Other Races: In this report, includes all persons who did not indicate their race as White, Negro or Black. Includes Indians, Japanese, etc. In the South in 1970, 39,000 of all family heads and 10,000 of poor heads were in this category. Their poverty rate was 26 percent.

Spanish-Americans: Persons who reported Spanish as their mother tongue, as well as persons in families in which the head or wife reported Spanish as his or her mother tongue. Also in Texas includes persons not of Spanish language but of Spanish surname. The Spanish-American classification is not a racial classification. In Texas and Florida, of Spanish-Americans, 99 percent and 97 percent respectively were classified as white racially. See also Appendix A for a description of the Spanish-American poor.

Residence Concepts

South: The population of the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Census South: The population of the 11 states classified as the South and the District of Columbia, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

Urban:

Urbanized Areas: These contain a city (or twin cities) of 50,000 or more plus the surrounding closely settled incorporated and unincorporated areas which meet certain criteria of size or density.

- Central cities: Population of cities of 50,000 or more in urbanized areas.
- Urban fringe: Population of the urbanized area outside the central city.

Other Urban:

- Places 10,000 to 49,999.
- Places of 2,500 to 9,999.

Rural:

Those remaining areas not included in any of the urban categories, including the areas outside urbanized areas and with fewer than 2,500 population.

APPENDIX B–Continued

Income Concepts

Income: Total income is the sum of the dollar amounts of money respondents reported receiving as earnings, Social Security, public assistance, interest, dividends, retirement pensions, and other regular payments. Nonmonetary payments, such as commodities and food stamps, are specifically excluded. Family income is the total combined incomes of all family members.

Earnings include wage and salary income and net self-employment income.

Social Security income includes U.S. Government payments to retired or disabled workers and to dependents of insured workers; also here includes railroad retirement; and excludes Medicare reimbursements.

Public assistance includes amounts from Federal, state, and local public programs such as aid to the blind, disabled, aged, and dependent children and excludes payments for hospital or other medical care.

Poor Population: Those families (and all family members) and unrelated individuals whose 1969 income fell below the 1969 poverty level relevant to their characteristics.

Poverty Incidence or Poverty Rate: The percent of a group who are poor—whose income falls below the poverty level appropriate to their characteristics. For example, the poverty rate for Southern female-headed families is the percent of all Southern female-headed families whose income falls below the poverty level for their family type.

Poverty Level: Using criteria and a methodology established by the Social Security Administration and modified by a Federal Interagency Committee, the Bureau of the Census constructed a series of poverty income levels for use with the 1970 Census. The sliding scale poverty levels take into account various factors such as family size (including number of children), sex of the family head, and whether farm or nonfarm residence. It does not include regional or other geographic area differentials. Examples of 1969 poverty levels are:

Nonfarm Residence:

- A male unrelated individual under 65 years: $1974.
- A female unrelated individual 65 years or older: $1751.
- A 3-person family with: a female head, $2830; a male head, $2937.
- A 4-person family with: a female head, $3725; a male head, $3745.
- A family with 7 or more persons and a male head: $6116.

Farm residence:

- A 4-person family with: a female head, $3159; a male head, $3197.
- A family with 7 or more persons and a male head: $5185.

Income Deficit: The difference (in dollars) between a family's or an unrelated individual's actual income and the applicable poverty level.

Aggregate Income Deficit: The sum of the income deficits for a group—for instance, the aggregate income deficit for families.

Employment Concepts

Working Poor: Those poor persons who reported that they were at work or with a job but not at work (temporarily absent because of illness, vacation) during the week that the Census was taken. Excluded are the unemployed and those not in the labor force.

Occupation: The terms white collar, blue collar, farming, and service workers include the following major

Census Occupational Groups:

White Collar: Professional, technical, and kindred workers.
Managers and administrators, except farm.
Sales workers.
Clerical and kindred workers.

Blue Collar: Craftsmen and kindred workers.
Operatives, except transport.
Transport equipment operatives.
Laborers, except farm.

Farming: Farmers and farm managers.
Farm laborers and farm foremen.

Service Workers: Service workers, except private household.
Private household workers.

Labor Force: Those who are in the labor force include the employed and the unemployed. (The unemployed include those looking for work within the past 60 days and those waiting to be called back to a job from which they are laid off.)

Reference: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census User's Guide*, Part 1, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1970.